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1693-1993: The Map of Amish Studies



*Early nineteenth century Alsatian Amish. Often the nineteenth century Amish immigrants were more progressive minded than their North American born cousins.
Print: Goshen College, Mennonite Historical Library*

Steven M. Nolt. **A History of the Amish.** Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1992. \$9.95. Pp. 318.

By Steven D. Reschly

Maurice Mandelbaum, the philosopher of history, compared the task of writing history to mapmaking. Various scales of maps are appropriate for depicting distinct landscapes and serving different purposes, ranging from understanding the shape of a continent to finding a street address in

a small town. Likewise, various facets of the same landscape may be depicted on different types of maps, from topography to vegetation to political boundaries. Mandelbaum hypothesized that historical accounts also vary in terms of scale and facet – the same historical event or period may be described using different scales of time and space, and different explanatory frameworks and methods. This variation will ultimately fit together to produce a fundamental unity in historical accounts. General histories and specialized histories are mutually reinforcing, and neither can claim completeness without the other. Mandelbaum's optimism and the 300th anniversary year of Amish origins in early modern Europe offer an opportunity to reflect on the cartography of Amish studies.

On the globe of Amish studies, Steven Nolt's book, **A History of the Amish**, poses a sweeping vista of Amish history from beginning to the present. Scholarship to this point has not had a good handle on the big map, tending to become absorbed in topics of smaller scale. Nolt's book, as the first serious overview of Amish history, provides the unique perspective only a broad survey can offer. As with most global points of view, there may be a certain fuzziness of detail when examined too closely. But no one should try to determine house numbers from satellite photos, and when its role is properly understood, **A History of the Amish** will take its essential place in Amish history writing.

First, Nolt constructs a synthesis of knowledge to this point, rather than performing and reporting new research. He essentially combines many maps of different scales and facets to make one large map without adding anything to the smaller maps. It may be argued of course that

1993 Amish Tricentennial Events

Conferences

Amish Society 1693-1993, July 22-25, Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups, Donald B. Kraybill (717 367 1151), Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, PA 17022

Amish International Symposium, 1693-1993, August 19-21, Sainte-Marie-Aux-Mines (Markirch), French, German and Swiss Mennonite historical societies, Lydie Hege (06223-49667), Hauptstr.77, D-6919 Bammental, Germany

Tradition and Transition: An Amish Mennonite Heritage of Obedience, 1693-1993, October 14-16, Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society, Steven Estes (309 747 3642), Mennonite Heritage Center, Box 819, Metamora, IL 61548

Tours

Amish Tricentennial Tour, August 9-23, Menno Travel Service, Albert N. Keim and Elvie Mast (219 533 9098), 110 East Madison, Goshen, IN 46526

Amish European Heritage Tour, August 16-31, Mennonite Family History, Leroy Beachy and J. Lemar and Lois Ann Mast (215 286 0258), Box 171, Elverson, PA 19520

Exploring the Amish Mennonite Story in Europe, August 11-24, TourMagination, John A. and Beulah Hostetler and Henry D. Landes (215 723 8413), 3011 Cathill Road, Sellersville, PA 18960

synthesis itself is a legitimate task and represents new research. By way of comparison, and to understand the sources for Nolt's composite image, Paton Yoder's **Tradition and Transition: Amish Mennonites and Old Order Amish, 1800-1900** (1991) is structured by a time period and centers on the *Diener Versammlungen* (ministers' meetings) of 1862-1878. S. Duane Kauffman's **Mifflin County Amish and Mennonite Story, 1791-1991** (1991) focuses on a geographic location. Other works may center on a state or district conference, such as Hope Lind's **Apart and Together:**

Mennonites in Oregon and Neighboring States, 1876-1976 (1990), or on a Mennonite congregation with Amish roots, such as the congregational histories in Ohio by James O. Lehman and in Illinois by Steven Estes. An interrelatedness exists among these works that becomes more visible in the framework constructed by Nolt. A synthesis could not exist without intensive local research in more limited time frames, and the original research requires a synthetic framework for perspective and meaning. **A History of the Amish**

should be understood, first of all, as summary and, therefore, platform and preparation for further original research.

A synopsis also points out the strengths and weaknesses in the present state of Amish research. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries in North America are clearly well-researched, and there are developing strengths in the European story since 1800. On the other hand, the first two chapters of **A History of the Amish**, on the Reformation background and the Amish-Mennonite split in the 1690s, are the two weakest sections. Nolt writes clear through the Reformation without mentioning the Peasants' War or Thomas Müntzer. Both omissions should have been more difficult after James M. Stayer's book, **The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods** (1991), and recent scholarship on Müntzer (see review essay by Ray C. Gingerich in the October 1992 issue of **Mennonite Historical Bulletin**). In like manner, Nolt describes the Jakob Ammann renewal movement in Alsace and Switzerland at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with no reference to Pietism. Admittedly, the Peasants' War and Pietism are complex topics, which are difficult to include in a broad overview; however, ongoing scholarship in both areas may well change in fundamental ways the traditional Mennonite and Amish interpretation of the Reformation and the Ammann movement. Hence, in these areas Nolt's synthesis should not be taken as definitive. On the other hand, Nolt's use of Paton Yoder's intricate history of the nineteenth century is very clear and concise, and actually throws more light on the events Yoder describes so thoroughly

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by reviewing them more briefly. In short, a synthetic work reflects the quality of raw material available to the author, and the high quality of Nolt's book would not have been possible even a decade ago.

It should also be understood that **A History of the Amish** is popular narrative history, the past "as it really was," in the prescription of German historian Leopold von Ranke. The best comparison would be to David McCullough's biography of Harry Truman, so popular during the recent presidential campaign. McCullough built on the works of a great many historians and contemporary observers and wrote a coherent narrative of Truman's life; he did not write social history, or political history, or cultural history, or in any of the genres more useful to academic tenure battles. McCullough and fellow traditional historian Barbara Tuchman sometimes disgust "real" historians because they focus on sequential narrative rather than theory or analysis; the only problem is, their books sell and people read them!


A History of the Amish will make the Amish story and culture accessible to a great many people, and that is

reason enough to appreciate Nolt's effort. There is still plenty of room for research that produces social history, biography, agricultural history, women's history, genealogy, or any of the other myriad methods and topics in the historian's repertoire.

The mechanics of **A History of the Amish** are generally outstanding. The photos are well-chosen, the maps original and useful, and the practice of embedding sidebars with excerpts from original sources within the general narrative (such as the tale of "Strong" Jacob Yoder, a passage from *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, and so forth) provides a helpful rhythm of micro and macro accounts. The index and bibliography are both thorough and functional. However, my personal pet peeve shows up in the footnote system. In order to find a complete reference, one must first find the footnote at the end of the book, then the bibliographical citation in the bibliography; this system combines the worst features of reference formats from several disciplines. A serious reader will run out of fingers to keep in different sections of the book.

A specialist in one of the topics or regions covered by **A History of the**

Amish can find holes or omissions. For example, Nolt describes the Amish sleeping preachers as reactionaries fervently fighting progressive tendencies (p. 161), but Noah Troyer in Johnson County, Iowa, associated with more progressive families on their way out of the Old Order Amish even before his nocturnal trance sermons began in 1878. And the two Deer Creek districts in Iowa built their first meetinghouses in 1890, not 1891 (p. 199). There are no doubt other minor errors or potential disagreements over inclusion and omission. Most of these will be explicable by considering the differences in scale and facet already discussed, and a synthesizer cannot be everywhere always.

Steven Nolt has written a book that will make Amish history more interesting and approachable for the general public, and that will advance the task of Amish historical studies by summarizing and synthesizing scholarship to this point. **A History of the Amish** is a worthy addition to the literature of Amish studies. 

Steven D. Reschly of Iowa City, Iowa, is chair of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church.

Mennonite Education in America: The Human and Institutional Stories

By Susan Fisher Miller

We Beheld His Glory: Rosedale Bible Institute, the First Forty Years: 1952-1992. Jewel Showalter and Elmer S. Yoder. Irwin, Ohio: Rosedale Bible Institute (2270 Rosedale Road). 1992. Pp. 265. \$9.50.

The Way We Are. Ruth Hoover Seitz. Harrisonburg, Va.: Eastern Mennonite College. 1992. Pp. 88. \$24.75.

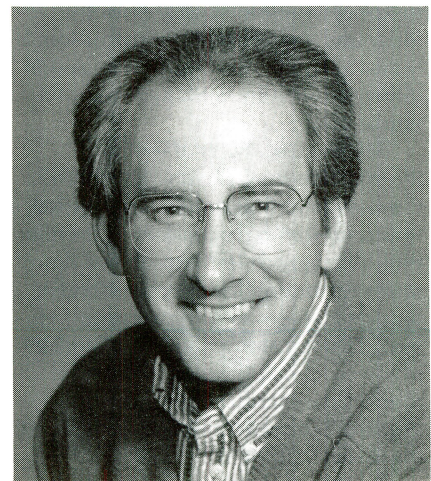
Passing on the Faith, The Story of a Mennonite School. Donald B. Kraybill. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1991. Pp. 315. \$11.95.

Every institutional history begs the question of its true subject: will it be the recorded decisions, plans and patterns that constitute the abstract idea of the place? Or will it record the vivid, fleeting, human events experienced within its walls?

Since the ideal history, of course, combines both stories, the ideal institutional historian must combine the dispassionate documentary services of a microfilm viewer with the humane, novelistic eye and ear of an oral history writer like Studs Terkel. (Terkel's age may be an asset, too.)

In any case, one major challenge to that writer is to tell the tale of the place and the people—not to mention locating the whole in some larger relevant context. Three new volumes about Mennonite schools demonstrate three approaches.

In **We Beheld His Glory: Rosedale Bible Institute, The First Forty Years:**



Donald Kraybill wrote *Passing on the Faith*: a "light social history," as in "humane, self-delighting, and gracefully written."

1952-1992, two kinds of material are divided between two authors. In the first half of the book, Elmer S. Yoder relates chronological developments, from the Institute's roots in the Conservative Amish Mennonite winter Bible Schools through its



Rosedale Bible Institute began in 1952 in Berlin, Ohio, as Conservative Mennonite Bible School. Some of the students with the school's principal Mark Peachey were: Marie Miller, John J.K. Yoder, Anna Miller, Mark Peachey, Fred Hostetler, Leroy Schlabach, and Fannie Raber. Photo: Rosedale Bible Institute

establishment at Berlin, Ohio, and subsequent move to Rosedale. Jewel Showalter then sketches the human dimension, in biographical portraits and topic chapters such as "Rosedale Romances" and "How the (Physical) Plant Grew."

This format addresses the need for historiography to supply both the letter and the spirit of an institution. It lacks, however, the benefit of a single interpretive voice making sense of a whole story.

Beyond questions of format, though, this book sheds light on the Conservative Mennonite Conference, a welcome service to readers unfamiliar with this branch of Mennonites. An anomaly among Mennonite schools, Rosedale seems to have experienced few of the growing pains and tensions involved in interpreting itself to its constituency, and Yoder indicates ongoing harmony in its relationship to the Conservative Conference.

Eastern Mennonite College and Seminary and Eastern Mennonite High School observe their seventy-fifth anniversary in *The Way We Are* by Ruth Hoover Seitz. This book is largely a visual "celebration" in which short essays and extended captions accompany photographs. The tone is fond and personal, complementing the more formal treatment available in Hubert R. Pellman's 1967 history of Eastern Mennonite.

Original free verse opens and closes

the volume, and the first two essays are narrated in the first person. This viewbook presents material topically rather than chronologically, grouping photos under paired headings like "Discovering... Analyzing," and "Interacting... Relaxing."

The most compelling section of the book, to my mind, is "Student Power for a Library," an account of spirited campus fund-raising in 1969 that reveals a defining moment in Eastern Mennonite history and shows Mennonite student ingenuity at its best. Less clear is the section entitled "Contributions of Women, Not Feminists," whose brief paragraphs hint at that distinction without fully articulating their point of view.


Finally, perhaps limited space prevented the author from delving deeply into the degree to which the founders' embrace of certain conservative "distinctives"—the way we were—might still in some dimension inform "the way we are." In any case, Seitz writes of President J.B. Smith's departure in the early 1920s: "It seems phenomenal that a single musical instrument, the piano, figured in the administrative history of Eastern Mennonite School." When she concludes, "What was once an issue that sent a president packing is now nonexistent except in the archives," we wish we could see those declarations tested more fully.

The most ambitious and

comprehensive of the three books, Donald B. Kraybill's *Passing on the Faith, The Story of a Mennonite School*, marks Lancaster Mennonite High School's fiftieth anniversary. Described as a "light social history," the book is in fact substantive, "light" only in the favorable senses of humane, self-delighting, and gracefully written.

This history manages to unite the straightforward march of events with the color and drama of school life. Most significantly, Kraybill provides context for this story, weaving into his narrative those circumstances in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; the Mennonite Church; and the wider world that had their part in shaping the school. Throughout, he pursues the general question of how a people passes its faith to its youth.

Indeed, Kraybill's sociological bent leads him to include, amid the rich illustrations, numerous figures charting everything from "Senior Men Wearing Plain Suits" (a plummeting graph) to "Top Ten Alumni Surnames" (Martin, Weaver, and Stoltzfus a close top three). Perhaps numerous photo captions too enthusiastically insist on the contrast between early and late student garb, since Kraybill's main text is otherwise respectful and meditative toward the phenomenon of waning conservative symbols.

With the publication of these histories, and with additional school anniversaries on the horizon, one's sights become set on some grand treatise that might eventually consider, in a comparative, historical way, the contours of the entire Mennonite educational landscape. (This task was last attempted—in published form—by John E. Hartzler's *Education Among the Mennonite of America* almost 70 years ago.) Surely Donald Kraybill's concluding statements on parochial education speak of that whole varied vista: "The bricks and mortar, the gifts of dollars and time, and the energy and commitment of staff and volunteers give visible expression to the soul of the community." 

Susan Fisher Miller of Evanston, Illinois, is writing an interpretative history of Goshen College, 1894-1994.

The Diaries of North American Mennonite Women 1850-1950

By Anne Yoder

Although Mennonite women have been almost totally excluded from positions of leadership until modern times, they nevertheless have been instrumental in the growth and maintenance of the homes, churches and communities in which they lived. Women have always been present in the Mennonite story—bearing children, working, suffering, and carrying the message of their faith to those around them. But in most histories, we catch only glimpses of them, not a full picture of their accomplishments, beliefs, and failings. Making these visible is mandatory if a true understanding of Mennonite history is ever to be gained.

Personal writings are some of the best and most revealing media for learning more about Mennonite women, as they impart the experiential dimensions of their lives as no other sources can, and are often the closest to female autobiography of any writings available. Of these, diaries are probably the most honest and unselfconscious, as they were nearly all written without any particular reader audience in mind. Diaries supply us with a myriad of images and facts about what women wore, how often they attended church and what they believed about God, what they read, and how they amused themselves. They help us reconstruct their writers' daily routines of house and garden chores, visiting patterns and celebrations, and understand their relationships with family and friends. Through the window into the past that they provide, we can be appalled by the incredible amount of work that was necessary for daily survival, touched emotionally by the outpourings of sorrow from the loss of a child, amazed at the courage of those who stepped out of their ordinary station in life, and stunned by those who seemingly lacked any interest in world events. In brief, we can see what "ordinary" women thought important enough to privately record.



Lena Gertrude Burkholder Brunk reported the daily routines: "sewed and split wood for about an hour." Photo: Eastern Mennonite College, Menno Simons Library and Archives, James Brunk

As literacy increased and the price of paper decreased in the nineteenth century, the keeping of private diaries became popular across the country and was indeed an accepted sign of gentility. Women embraced this form of self-expression in increasing numbers, Mennonite women included, though they were motivated to keep a

diary for a variety of reasons.

Some women felt a sense of responsibility in religiously writing in their diaries every day. Others thought it would keep them from being lazy, spiritually and mentally, and thus used it for self-scrutiny and confession or for improving their expressive skills. Still others used it as a confidant

for their most private thoughts and feelings.

Lina Zook Ressler wrote in March 1899: "In then, my diary, to you I will tell my trials and darkness, and I know you will not chide me."

Amanda Eby Leaman wrote on July 18, 1894: "This evening I read that it is profitable to keep a journal and shall begin on[e] to write." By August 25, 1900, the interest in writing in her diary had begun to pall: "O, dear! I believe I'll not pretend to write every day. Believe I'll only write when I feel like it - when there is something worth recording. I know it won't be very, very interesting in years to come to read 'washed today' or 'Baked and scrubbed today' - etc. etc., so I'll not say anything about the numberless duties of this everyday life." However, she had changed her mind by February 1904: "After having neglected my diary for over thirteen months, I again take up my pen to record the little daily events of my life. I think I can find enough time to do so and not neglect other duties and believe I shall enjoy writing."

Mahala Yoder kept a journal for five years before her death, and had varying feelings as well on the worth of that exercise: "I'm getting to be more and more neglectful with my journal; though to be sure I scarcely know why I keep it up at all, only it is grown to be a sort of habit. I began it in the hope that it would teach me to express my thoughts on paper, but I believe it comes no easier after three years' practice than before. When I think I have written a particularly fine sentence then I must be careful not to look it over next day, or I can't resist the inclination to erase it, or get so disgusted with the whole book that I can't bear the sight of it for a week" [January 19, 1873].

Thankfully for us, these women, as well as others, did have an interest in expressing themselves and persevered in keeping diaries in spite of their reservations, often creating amazingly interesting records of crucial times in their lives.

It must be remembered, however, that a great many diaries contain only short, often terse, entries of daily happenings and activities, the weather, and events in their communities. It is a natural tendency to dismiss these writings as dull and historically worthless, but they have their own



Vesta Zook Slagel anticipated serving at a children's home in Constantinople in 1921. "And can I learn to kiss the children as Mrs. Areson does." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, Russian Relief Collection

special significance. When a person alternated reports of illnesses and death with accounts of garden work and visitors, it did not mean that the former were of little account in their eyes, but that they were a part of a meaningful pattern in their community life.

These cyclical life experiences were a way of making sense of all that happened to them, providing order for the chaos over which they had so little control. Also, many times these types of diaries were created in part to form a record of house and farm work that could be consulted for help in future planning, so that it did not matter if full sentences were used or if punctuation was correct.

Though Mennonite women lived with a number of restrictions on their behavior, their diaries reveal that they were not automatons, all thinking and acting exactly the same. Like their male counterparts, they had varying degrees of interest in the church business, missions, education, politics, social issues, and wars of their times. More often they wrote about their families and friends, their house and farm work, and the church services they attended, providing insight into how they felt about the flow of their lives, their daily routines, and the kind of communities they related to.

For most people, each morning

began with a look at the sky and the thermometer, as this determined the structure of their days, particularly during the winter months.

Ida Beidler noted: "Wea. cloudy and stormy like and very cold. We done up the work and sewed then the men tinkered around and harry n ralph went skating on the river" [1898].

Marie Blosser wrote with delicious irony on January 22, 1939: "Earl Showalter preached again. The wind was blowing terribly we could hardly hear for the rattling roof. His text was 'And the wind was contrary.'"

Elizabeth Yoder Woodiwiss commented on May 6, 1914: "Stormed and snowed slowly all day. We took life easy." Taking life easy was an unusual occurrence. Elizabeth homesteaded in North Dakota as a young woman, and this required much energy and hard work. On June 11, 1912[13?] she stated: "In the afternoon and evening I carried wash water from the lake and cut and ranked some wood. In the forenoon I cleaned up the shack, made a box cupboard and a curtain for it." On another occasion she recorded: "I got up before four oclock and did part of the washing before breakfast" [July 1, 1912].

Lena Burkholder Brunk told of her day on January 3, 1918: "We went through our usual routine and sewed and split wood for about one hour."

Mahala Yoder wrote on July 8, 1871: "The 'men folks' are very busy making hay. That is the only crop that the cinch bugs have left over. Father has no wheat, oats, barley, or corn, worth mentioning. 'There's one good thing,' said the girls, 'There won't be any big dinners and suppers to cook, and no piles of dishes to wash.' I call that looking at the bright side."

Making such meals was no small task, as witnessed by Amanda Eby Leaman: "We had the threshers for supper. Almost worn out. Have been up since 2:30 a.m."

Being Mennonite in a world of people whose values were often quite different could lead to conflict, good-natured though it might be at times. Mahala Yoder noted in November 1872: "After supper I was very much interested in a discussion about dancing between Father and John and Asa. They all said it was good and necessary that the young folks spend a social evening together once in awhile



Elizabeth Yoder Woodiwiss homesteaded in North Dakota and supported the Temperance campaign. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, Elizabeth Woodiwiss Collection

and if everybody thought so, dancing in itself wasn't wrong if properly indulged in. But there is where they differ. Father thinks it never is indulged in properly. That it always runs to extremes. Asa thinks it can be kept in bounds if the parents would join in and watch over the movements of the youngsters. John is not in for dancing, would rather not see it at all. But what to substitute for it is the question."

The Temperance campaign was going strong in the early 20th century and was supported by many Mennonite women, including Elizabeth Yoder Woodiwiss: "Late in the afternoon two of the crew [threshers?] came from town and brought a lot of beer with them. They offered us a drink, but we refused. They then gave us a bottle anyway, but when they found we were going to destroy it they tried to get it back. We were finally successful in smashing it after a hard tussle" [October 7, 1912].

Another movement that challenged the Mennonite Church was the thrust for mission evangelism. Vesta Zook Slagel sailed to Constantinople in 1921 to help in an orphanage for Russian

refugee children: "Our first Sunday on the Atlantic. Attended church services in our room. A wonderful sermon [April 3, 1921]. Lounge serves as a smoking room for the smokers, play room for the children, dance hall for the dancers, and card room for the card players. Therefore, we spend little time there, and naturally by some are termed the praying bunch [April 7]. About all I do is wonder what my work will be and finally get up enough courage to ask Mr. Stoltzfus. He informs me that Mrs. Areson will give up the orphanage later and my work will be there. I wonder if I can ever learn to do the work. And can I learn to kiss the children as Mrs. Areson does" [April 18].

Amanda Eby Leaman wrote poignantly of her many years of service among the poor of Chicago: "I have heard of man and wife fighting - but now I have seen them. When we entered, Mr. G. was in bed sleeping - works nights. Soon [he] made his appearance. Mrs. G. took us into front room to show us around. Showed us two mattresses on his bed and said she must sleep on the floor. She was under influence of liquor. He came in, accused her of being a drunkard. She denied and became extremely angry - took up stove lid and threw it at him and would have thrown top too if he had not closed the door. Afterwards he struck her and knocked her down. . . Mrs. G. used the vilest language and accused him of spending all but a few cents of his wages at Clark St. Houses because she refused to sleep with him. . . Poor little children to be trained under such influences. Such an awful life - how dark! how sad! 'Christ died for the ungodly' - if these could only be rescued" [March 20, 1900].

The U.S. fought in four wars between 1850 and 1950. Margaret Smid commented on February 3, 1865: "A preacher from Virginia has fled from there because his possessions were destroyed by the war and burned, and is now living in Ohio, and here he comes for a visit to get help from the generous brethren to restore his lost possessions. Landes is his name."

For Martha Mumaw, the beginning of World War I was more like a circus than anything serious: "Great excitement over militia call [June 20, 1916]. In the evening we went to see the soldiers parade [June 21, 1916]. After supper we went to get pictures



Lina Zook Ressler wrote to her diary: "I will tell you my trials and darkness, and I know you will not chide me." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, Ressler Collection

and saw the soldier boys drill on the square and in the armory" [June 22, 1916].

Marie Blosser followed the events of World War II closely and found them depressing and fearful: "Practically all the nations have declared war or are talking of it. Such a mess! . . . President's address calls for a long hard struggle against Germany, Italy and Japan. They are all to be dreaded. What of the future? [December 10, 1941].


To see it happening again in the Korean War was almost unbearable for her: "Some day! I am deeply distressed. The War is depressing. A caller made me more so. I feel like I don't want to see people. Dean Acheson talked over the radio this eve. I hope the U.N. and U.S. really are trying to do right, but how can they and still plan for A bombs and H bombs like they are. A pitiful letter from a branch of China's Childrens Home only added to the pitiful world situation. Wrote a check for them" [November 29, 1950].

Perhaps more than anything else, the diaries of Mennonite women offer a clear and often beautiful picture of

the depth of the writer's quiet faith, wisdom and determination. Amanda Eby Leaman wrote on November 29, 1896: "The burden of my prayer tonight - give me stronger faith, deeper love. Grant that my life may be wholly consecrated to thee and that I may render to Thee more self-forgetful service." This type of commitment kept Sunday schools, Bible studies, prayer meetings, sewing circles, and missionary and evangelism efforts going year after year. It led these women into doing things they never guessed they could do, empowering them to love and help in spite of conditions that would daunt the bravest.

The diaries written by Mennonite women span many decades, from before the Civil War to modern times. They were written by missionaries, emigrants, homesteaders, homemakers, business-women, mothers, and teachers. Some began writing when they were 15 or younger and many continued to do so for the rest of their lives. They lived in many different places in Canada, the U.S., and overseas. The above diary quotes are only a few of the many interesting and even moving excerpts that could have been used.

It is a loss of Mennonite history that so many of the diaries written by women have gone largely unstudied heretofore, as their revelations of love, fear, humor, anger, loneliness and hope, as well as their comments on the world around them, can only help to draw Mennonite women from the shadows into their rightful place in historiography. The quotes from their diaries are testimony to their high level of historical value, and to all that their authors, as real women who actually lived, can teach us still today. I hope many are ready to listen and learn.

The guide which follows is a listing of the diaries of 24 women that are housed in the Archives of the Mennonite Church (AMC) in Goshen, Indiana, and the Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives (MSLA) in Harrisonburg, Virginia. In the above quotations, minor punctuation changes were made to ease reading. These diaries are a rich source to telling the full Mennonite story. 

Anne Yoder of West Liberty, Ohio, recently completed a Masters degree in archival studies at the Kent State University School of Library Science.

A Guide to the Diaries

BAUMAN, ELLA FRANCES SHOUP (1892-1969); m. Norman Bauman June 12, 1919). Daughter of Joseph and Barbara Shoup of Holmes County, Ohio. Graduated from Goshen College Academy in 1916. Before marriage, served in Youngstown, Ohio, among homeless and abused women and children. In 1940s was instrumental in planting a church in steel mills area of Youngstown. Had 3 children. Diaries: May-September 1912, September 1912-April 1913. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-657].

BEIDLER, IDA (Biographical information unknown). Diaries: 1898 Repository: AMC [MSS 1-550].

BLOSSER, MARIE SHOWALTER (1897-1978). Lived all her life in Harrisonburg, Virginia. Made prayer coverings for a living. Diaries: 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950. Repository: MSLA (VMCA).

BRENNEMAN, MARTHA J. (1887-1976) Lived near Lima, Ohio. Sister of Mary Brenneman. Diaries: 1915, 1938-1942, 1943-1947, 1948-1952. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-814].

BRENNEMAN, MARY E. (1894-1981) Lived near Lima, Ohio. Sister of Martha Brenneman. Diaries: January-June 1909, 1915. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-814].

BRUNK, ADA MARTIN ZIMMERMAN (1908-1954; m. Harry A. Brunk). Dean of Women at Eastern Mennonite School/College 1939-1949. Co-authored *The Christian Nurture of Children*. Diaries: August-October 1943. Repository: MSLA (EMCA).

BRUNK, LENA GERTRUDE BURKHOLDER (1900-1948; m. Harry Brunk). Daughter of John D. Burkholder, M.D. Moved from Birdsboro, Pa., to Harrisonburg, Va., in 1918. Attended Eastern

Mennonite School in 1923. Diaries: 1918, January-July 1923. Repository: MSLA (VMCA).

BURKHOLDER, SUSANNAH (1865-). From Lewistown, Ohio. Diaries: 1880-1891. Repository: AMC [Pre-Accession #91-175].

GINGERICH, Verna Mae Roth (1902- ; m. Melvin Gingerich August 30, 1925). From Wayland, Iowa. Sister of Mina Roth Graber. Graduated high school 1922 and taught at Sommers

School 1924. After marriage, lived in Goshen, Indiana. Children were Owen and Loren. Diaries: 1924, 1930-1934, 1935-1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-129].

GRABER, MINA AMANDA ROTH (1895-1968; m. Christian L. Graber). From Wayland, Iowa. Sister of Verna Roth Gingerich. After marriage, lived in Goshen, Ind. Had six children. Diaries: 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, October 1950-May 1951. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-209].

GUNDEN, AGNES ALBRECHT (1888-1963; m. C.J. Gunden). Lived near Peoria, Illinois until 1930 when family moved to Goshen, Ind. Had nine children. Diaries: April 1905-November 1907, August 1907-March 1909, March 1909-September 1910. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-332].

KEMRER, DOROTHY C. (1898-1986). Daughter of Phares and Elizabeth Kemrer of Vintage, Pa. Received AB from Goshen Academy/College 1925, and MA from Penn State University 1931. Taught at Eastern Mennonite School/College 1920-1964. Assisted J.B. Smith on Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament.

Diaries: January-August 1920, January 1922, 1926, 1927, 1928, January-May 1929, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942-1946, 1947-1951. Repository: MSLA (EMCA).

LEAMAN, [MARY] AMANDA EBY (1876-1938; m. [Amos] Hershey Leaman June 22, 1902). Native of Columbus Grove, Ohio. Sister of Clara Eby Steiner. Attended high school in Canton, and teacher training at Ohio Normal University. Taught 7 months at local school before going to Chicago Mennonite Home Mission in 1898 staying over 20 years to do home visitation and lead Bible studies, women's meetings, Sunday School, and sewing lessons. Children were Miriam, Eunice, Cleland and Gladys. Diaries: July 1894-July 1896, July 1896-1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1905-1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913-1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919-1920, 1922, 1923-1924, 1926, 1931-August 1933, September 1933-1935, 1936-1937. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-610].

MUMAW, MARTHA ELLEN (1891-1970). Daughter of Amos and

Catherine Mumaw of Waukarusa, Ind. Worked at Mennonite Publishing House in Scottdale, Pa., 1918-1946 and 1953 as linotype operator. Died in Orrville, Ohio. Diaries: 1916, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1933, 1934-1938, 1939-1943, 1944-1945, 1946-1950. Repository: MSLA (EMCA).

RESSLER, LINA ZOOK (1869-1948; m. Jacob A. Ressler 1903). Daughter of David and Magdalena Zook of Sterling, Ohio. Worked at Mennonite Gospel Mission in Chicago 1896-1900, and taught at Elkhart Institute 1901-1903. Went as bride to India with missionary husband 1903-1908. Returned to U.S. because of ill health and lived in Wayne County, Ohio until 1911, and then for many years in Scottdale, Pa. Wrote many articles, co-edited a book, and compiled four volumes of poetry and stories for children. Children were Luke, Ruth and Rhoda. Diaries: 1897-1899, 1906, 1907. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-117].

SLAGEL, VESTA ZOOK (1891-1973; m. Arthur W. Slagel). Earned AB and BS at Goshen Academy/College, Lewis Institute, and University of Chicago. Dean of Women and Home Economics teacher at Goshen Academy/College. Spent one year in Constantinople in charge of orphanage part of Russian refugee work for Mennonite Relief Unit. Diaries: March-April 1921-May 1922. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-403].

SMID, MARGARET J. SYMENSMA (1820-1911; m. Ruurd Johannes Smid). Emigrated in 1853 from Gaasterland, The Netherlands, to Ind. Children were Johannes, Jitsche, Martha, Obe, Samuel, and Hanna. Diaries: 1845-1850 [translation in progress], 1850-1870, 1881-1895 [translation in progress]. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-86].

STEINER, CLARA DAISY EBY (1873-1929; m. Menno Simon Steiner April 8, 1894). Native of Columbus Grove, Ohio. Sister of Amanda Eby Leaman. Attended Moody Institute. Two days after marriage moved to Chicago to work with husband at Chicago Mennonite Mission where they stayed until 1895. Was the moving force behind the formation of the Mennonite Women's Missionary Society. Children were Charity, Esther, Grace, Luke and Paul. Diaries: 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1900. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-201].

SUTER, MARY EUGENIA (1905-1989). Lived in Harrisonburg, Va. Worked at Valley Books, a Mennonite

bookstore. Diaries: 1932. Repository: MSLA (VMCA).

SUTER, NELLIE V. HEATWOLE (1879-1952; m. Eugene Suter August 28, 1900). Daughter of L.J. Heatwole. Lived in Harrisonburg, Va. Children were Blanche, Mary, Cornelius Justus, James and Grace. Diaries: 46 from 1904 through 1950. Repository: MSLA (VMCA).

WENGER, LAURA E. SUTER (1873-1959; m. Daniel P. Wenger February 4, 1924). Daughter of Emanuel Suter. Diaries: 12 from 1904 through 1915, August 1915, 32 from 1916 through 1947. Repository: MSLA (VMCA).

WENGER, VIOLA DEPUTY HEATWOLE (1889-1965; m. 1/Mervin O. Deputy, 2/Oscar E. Wenger September 2, 1948). Lived in Harrisonburg, Va. Children were Ray and Byard [?]. Diaries: January-May 1936, 1946, 1948, 1950. Repository: MSLA (EMCA).

WOODIWISS, ELIZABETH YODER (1889-1986; m. Hugh Woodiwiss 1915). Native of Belleville, Pa. Moved with family to Surrey, N.D., in 1902 and then to Minot, S.D. Worked on Landis Bros. cook-car in 1913. Homesteaded on Fort Berthold Indian Reservation from December 1912 until marriage in 1915. Lived with husband in Sawyer, N.D. Died in Elkhart, Ind. Diaries: June-December 1912, December 1912-August 1913, August 1913-May 1914. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-806].

YODER, MAHALA (1850-1878). Lived in McLean County, Ill., and raised in Amish Mennonite Church. Had 16 siblings (including step-brothers/sisters). Was an invalid.

Diaries: 1871-1876. Repository: AMC [MSS 1-12].

Recent Publications

Anderson, Dave and Elta. **Descendants of John Anderson**. 1991 update of 1958 edition. Pp. 102. Order from authors, 1510 Greencroft Dr., Goshen, IN 46526.

Buzzard, Monte P. **Buzzard and Alt Families**. 1991. Pp. 207. \$15.00. Order from author, P.O. Box 353, San Luis Obispo, CA 93406.

Christensen, Grace Hildy Croft. **Lineage and Descendants of Joseph Sommer and Elizabeth Barbe Garber**:

The Sleeping Preacher

By Julia Kasdorf

About the time guilt got the best of the Fox sisters, and they confessed the rappings were not messages from the dead to comfort their friends, but only the girls' toe knuckles cracking, about that time, the Sleeping Preacher came to the Valley. Our great grandma saw him swoon across the front pew and preach against jewelry, fancy dresses for women, and photographs. That day she threw all the old daguerreotypes in gilt and red velvet cases, all the prints of her parents on their wedding day, of herself in high button shoes into the cookstove. She stoked those flames to burn away the sins that might keep her kin from rising on the last day. She did not think of us, only to save us, leaving nothing for us to touch or see except this stubborn will to believe.

"The Sleeping Preacher" reprinted from **The Sleeping Preacher** by permission of the University of Pittsburgh Press. © 1992 by Julia Kasdorf.

The Beckler and Stuckey and Allied Families. 1991. Pp. 397. Order from author, 1235 Aspen Ave., Provo, UT 84604.

Gibble, Ira W. **A Family of Eckerts: the story of William J. Eckert...** 1991. Pp. 97. Order from author, 109 Cottage Dr., Palmyra, PA 17078.

Further information on the above books may be obtained from Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526.

Mennonite and Amish History in South-Central Ontario

By Reg Good

Bands of the Anishnabe (Ojibwa or Chippewa) First Nation, known collectively as Mississaugas of the Credit River, were the sovereign proprietors of South-Central Ontario when Euro-American settlers began moving onto the land after the American War of Independence. It is known in Canada as the American Revolution.

The Mississauga territory included all those lands drained by lakes Erie and Ontario between Long Point and the mouth of the Rouge River. The Mississaugas surrendered most of their territory to the British-Canadian state between 1784 and 1792, but reserved their planting, fishing and camping grounds.

Mennonite immigrants from Pennsylvania established several settlements on former Mississauga territory between 1786 and 1824. Mennonites from Bucks and Montgomery counties initially located along the western end of Lake Ontario. Those from Lancaster County initially located along the northern side of Lake Erie. In 1799-1800 Mennonites from all three counties followed a Mississauga road from Dundas to the upper Grand River and laid the foundations of a settlement in Waterloo Township.

In 1803 Mennonites from Lancaster and Somerset counties followed a Mississauga road from Dundas to the upper Rouge River and laid the foundations of a settlement in Markham Township. The Waterloo settlement became the Mennonite heartland in Ontario. A block of 60,000 acres in the township was purchased by a syndicate of Mennonite investors in 1805 and an adjoining block of 45,000 acres (Woolwich Township) was purchased by another syndicate of Mennonite investors in 1806.

In 1926 the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada dedicated a Memorial Tower to the Mennonite Pioneers of Waterloo, on the site of the first Mennonite

farmstead in Waterloo. The site overlooked "a point on the opposite side of the [Grand] river...[where Mississauga] braves met and held their councils... every autumn when on their hunting expeditions."¹

The monument was intended to be the first in a series of monuments erected "to commemorate the first settlements in Canada of the various nationalities which have contributed to the making of the Canadian nation."² It was erected at the prompting of Waterloo's native son, Mackenzie King, then Prime Minister of Canada, who desired a national monument in his home electoral district.

Amish immigrants also established settlements on former Mississauga territory. Between 1786 and 1800 a few families from Pennsylvania located along the Lake Erie shoreline between Sugar Loaf (Port Colborne) and Long Point. After 1803 most of these families and others from Pennsylvania moved to Vaughan Township, adjoining Markham Township to the west.

In 1823 the government reserved Wilmot Township for exclusive German settlement at the behest of Amish immigrants from Europe. The survey was executed at the expense of leading Mennonite investors in Waterloo Township, but was settled primarily by Amish immigrants from Europe who reimbursed the investors for their outlay. Wilmot Township became the hub of Amish settlement in Ontario. From here, families spread into the adjoining townships of East Zorra and Mornington.

River Brethren, known as Tunkers (now Brethren in Christ) in Canada, initially settled in the same areas that Mennonites did. In most places their numbers dwindled or stabilized. Only along the north shore of Lake Erie did they experience substantial numerical growth. This was due mainly to the influx of Mennonite converts. Bertie Township, at the mouth of Lake Erie, became the center of Tunker activity in Ontario.

Mennonite immigrants from Russia in the 1920s were sponsored by

Mennonite, Amish and Brethren in Christ families in south-central Ontario. Most moved West to the Point Pelee area on Lake Erie and to the Canadian prairies, but some remained in their host communities and others returned there during the depression of the 1930s. Their numbers were bolstered by post-World War II immigrants directly from Russia and indirectly from Russia through South America. Russian Mennonite settlement in south-central Ontario is concentrated around the western end of Lake Ontario.

Another influx of Mennonite immigrants to south-central Ontario began in the early 1960s from Mexico. These immigrants are colloquially referred to as Canadier (Canadians) because they descend from Russian Mennonites who settled in Manitoba, Canada, in the late 19th century. They were initially attracted to all areas of Russian Mennonite settlement, but they eventually concentrated along the north shore of Lake Erie between Long Point and Point Pelee.

Refugees from Latin America and South-East Asia are the most recent Mennonite arrivals. They were sponsored by Mennonite congregations throughout south-central Ontario, but have concentrated in the urban centres of Kitchener-Waterloo, Toronto and St. Catharines.

The Mennonite mosaic in south-central Ontario is thus incredibly diverse. The traditional-modernizing spectrum of Pennsylvania Mennonite, Russian Mennonite and Amish congregations are found here. In addition, Hispanic, Hmong and Laotian congregations are represented.

Historically, Pennsylvania Mennonites have deposited their archival records at the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Goshen, Indiana. Russian Mennonites have deposited their archival records at the Mennonite Library and Archives in Newton, Kansas. The Brethren in Christ have deposited their records at the Archives of the Brethren in Christ Church and Messiah College in Grantham,

Pennsylvania. Consequently, persons researching 19th-century Mennonite history in south-central Ontario may wish to consult these archives.

Canadian centennial celebrations in 1967 raised the national consciousness of Mennonites in Canada and encouraged them to take ownership of their own heritage. Since that time serious efforts have been made to preserve archival records in Canada.

When Conrad Grebel College (Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G6) was constructed in 1963, space was allocated for **Mennonite Archives of Ontario** to preserve the documentary heritage of Mennonites in Ontario. An archives committee, responsible to the College Board, was appointed in 1964 and an archivist, Lorna Bergey, was appointed in 1967. She was succeeded by Sam Steiner in 1974. An associate archivist, Reg Good, was added in 1991. It is open to researchers Monday through Friday, 8:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.

The first major accession was from the Mennonite Conference of Ontario. Successive conference historians had been collecting records since 1928 which had outgrown storage facilities at Golden Rule Bookstore and Rockway Mennonite School. These were transferred to the Mennonite Archives of Ontario in 1964. They include the records collected by L.J. Burkholder for his **A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario**, published in 1935.

Since that time the Mennonite Archives of Ontario has become the official depository of the Mennonite Conference of Ontario, the Western Ontario Mennonite Conference, the Mennonite Conference of Eastern Canada, Conrad Grebel College, Mennonite Central Committee (Ontario), the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, the Pennsylvania-German Folklore Society of Ontario and the Ontario Mennonite Bible School.

The Mennonite Archives of Ontario is also a major depository of Rockway Mennonite High School, Kitchener's House of Friendship, and the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada. Records of the last-named institution include materials collected by Frank H. Epp while researching a two-volume history of Mennonites in Canada.

Personal records of Ontario Mennonite ministers and lay people



Board of directors of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario in 1966: Dorothy Swartzentruber, secretary; Barbara Coffman; Herbert Enns, treasurer; Elven Shantz; J. Winfield Fretz, president; Wilson Hunsberger; Lorna Bergey; Harold Nigh; and Orland Gingerich, vice-president. Photo: Mennonite Archives of Ontario

have been acquired over the years. Bishop S.F. Coffman's papers were the first records of this nature to be processed. There are now over 160 personal collections, most of which came from members of the former Western Ontario Mennonite Conference, Ontario Mennonite Conference and United Mennonite Conference of Ontario. They include sermons, correspondence, transcribed interviews, diaries, account books and one manuscript cookbook. Sources for women's history include the papers of Mabel Groh, Lorraine Roth, Edna Hunsperger Bowman, Blodwen Davies, Sarah Moyer, Naomi Martin and the Shantz family.

Sources for Old Order Mennonite history include the papers of Peter G. Martin, Noah Bearinger, Thomas Reesor, Elven Shantz, Moses G. Weber, Samuel R. Horst and Isaac R. Horst. Sources for Amish Mennonite history include the papers of Peter Litwiller, Christian Gascho, Jacob Bender, Daniel Schrag, Christian Schrag, Gordon Schrag and David K. Jantzi. Sources for Latin American Mennonite history include the papers of Calvin Redekop, Hildegard Martens, Frank H. Epp and

J. Winfield Fretz. Sources for South-East Asia Mennonite history include transcribed interviews by Ross Bender.

Approximately 2,000 photographs have been indexed on computer and in a manual finding aid. Another 6000 photos from The Canadian Mennonite newspaper are currently being processed.

There are five oral history collections dealing with the following themes: alternative service in World War II (22 tapes), Russian Mennonite Immigrants of the 1920s (117 tapes), Mexican Mennonite Immigrants of the 1960s and 1970s (71 tapes) Fairview Mennonite Home Centre Interviews (38 tapes), Conrad Grebel College (36 tapes). Another 500-odd tapes record worship services, religious and historical conferences, academic course lectures and concerts.

Conrad Grebel College Library (Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G6) collects books in the following areas: Anabaptist-Mennonite history, music, theology, peace and conflict studies, and sociology. It holds collections of Ontario Mennonite congregational histories, family histories and 19th century Ontario Mennonite imprints.



Memorial Tower dedicated to the Mennonite pioneers in 1926: "where Mississauga braves met and held their councils..."

The library also owns the David G. Rempel Collection of Russian Mennonite history.

The Library is integrated electronically with the University of Waterloo. The library is usually open to the public Monday through Friday, 8:30-4:30. Extended hours are offered September through April. Sam Steiner is the director.

Ontario Mennonite Historical Society was founded in 1964 by J. Winfield Fretz, first president of Conrad Grebel College. It works with the Mennonite Archives of Ontario in collecting, preserving, and interpreting Ontario Mennonite history. Sam Steiner, archivist of the Mennonite Archives of Ontario, was founding editor of *Ontario Mennonite History*, the society's biannual newsletter, in

1983. He was succeeded in 1991 by Reg Good. The mailing address of the society is Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G6.

Each Spring the Society sponsors a tour from Waterloo to an outlying Mennonite locality where a guest speaker gives a talk on local Mennonite history and the annual meeting takes place. Each Fall an informational meeting is held in Waterloo where a guest speaker gives a talk on Ontario Mennonite history and the audience interacts with the speaker. Occasionally the Society participates with the Institute of Anabaptist-Mennonite Studies at Conrad Grebel College in organizing a symposium with a roster of guest speakers on a specialized historical theme. It has also sponsored the writing and presentation of historical pageants.

The Society administers the J. Winfield Fretz Award for Studies in Ontario Mennonite History, established in 1992 to promote original research about Mennonites in Ontario. The Award is offered annually at three levels: high school students, undergraduate students/lay historians, graduate students.

The Society has published **Mennonites in Ontario**, a popular introductory booklet to Ontario Mennonites, originally written by J. Winfield Fretz. Marlene Epp is currently revising this publication for a new edition to be available in 1993.

The Society, with Conrad Grebel College's Board of Directors, jointly administers the historical interpretation program of the Brubacher House museum. John E. Brubacher built the house in 1850, now located on and owned by the University of Waterloo. Knowledgeable tour guides introduce visitors to Pennsylvania-German Mennonite life in Waterloo County during the mid-nineteenth century. It is open to the public 2-5 P.M., Wednesday through Saturday, from May 1 to October 31, and by appointment at other times (519 886 3855).

Heritage Historical Library (Route 4, Aylmer, Ontario N5H 2R3) was founded in 1972 and is owned by the Amish-run Pathway Publishers. It is located in south-western Ontario but is the major depository of Amish living in south-central Ontario, and many

parts of North America. David Luthy is the contact person at the library.

The Heritage Historical Library collects materials written by, for, and about the Amish and Old Order Mennonites. It has significant holdings of Froschauer Bibles, devotional books, and hymnals. It also has important fraktur, needlework, and archival holdings.

Major collections of interest to Amish and Mennonite researchers are the 664 volumes of Amish genealogies, settlement histories, and Old Order Mennonite history. Specialized collections of particular interest to academic researchers include health books, educational materials and fictional literature. The books are organized into over 75 additional thematic categories.

Two copies of the 1748/49 **Martyrs Mirror** which were seized by the U.S. Congress in 1776 and taken to a munitions factory in Philadelphia are on display. After the war the Mennonites and Amish bought back these and other unbound copies, most of which were badly damaged. One of the display copies has 28 blank pages, and the other has a hand-written account on the front flyleaf of the fate of the **Martyrs Mirror** during the Revolutionary War.

The library is open to Amish and Mennonite visitors and serious researchers by appointment only.


In 1977 Laura and Milo Shantz decided to erect **The Meetingplace**, a Mennonite information center for tourists in St. Jacob's, north of the City of Waterloo. They consulted with designers Glenn Fretz, John Ruth and John Gleysteen. In 1980 the center opened to the public and several years later St. Jacob's Mennonite Church assumed management of it.

Approximately 20,000 tourists, church groups, and students visit the Meetingplace every year. They are led on a multi-media journey into Mennonite history. The journey begins with a 28-minute documentary film "Mennonites of Ontario," which was produced especially for the Meetingplace. It proceeds through a cave, modelled after the ones in which Anabaptists worshipped in Switzerland, and concludes in an Old Order Mennonite meetinghouse. The presentation encourages participants to reflect on their own heritage and values.

The Meetingplace is open Monday through Saturday and Sunday afternoons during the summer months. It is open Saturday, 11:00-4:30, and Sunday afternoons during the winter months. Admission is by donation except for groups where a rate of \$1.50 per person is charged.

The Historical Committee of the Mennonite Conference of Eastern Canada is responsible to the conference's Congregational Resources Commission. It resources congregational historians through annual workshops, printed materials and personal contacts. Congregational

historians are encouraged to preserve their yesterdays and today for tomorrow. They promote the celebration of Mennonite heritage at the congregational level.

Congregational historians also assist the Historical Committee in preparing an annual conference yearbook. The purpose of the yearbook is to provide a documentary record of our life together, share stories which help to shape a collective historical identity under Christ, and inspire members to creatively participate in God's plan to "call forth a people." 

Reg Good, archivist for the Ontario Mennonite Archives, is finishing his doctoral studies in history at the University of Waterloo.

¹ "Death of (Rev.) Mrs. David Sherk," **Daily Record** (August 27, 1894): 1.

² Mennonite Archives of Ontario, D.B. Betzner Papers, Hist. Mss. 1.153, James Coyne to J.B. Harkin, November 7, 1921.

John Horsch Mennonite History Essay Contest 1992

Class I-Seminary and Graduate School

First Place: Valerie G. Rempel, Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, "She Hath Done What She Could: The Development of the Women's Missionary Services in the Mennonite Brethren Churches of the United States."

Second Place: Anne Yoder, Kent State University School of Library Science, "The Diaries of American Mennonite Women 1850-1950: A Guide."

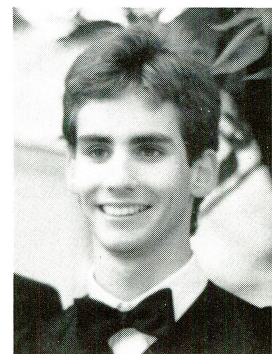
Honorable Mention: Renä Horst, Indiana University, "The Associacao Evangelica Menonita: The Growth of the Brazilian Mennonite Church."



Valerie G. Rempel,
Mennonite Brethren
Biblical Seminary



Daagya Shanti Dick,
Bethel College



Joel Dick,
United Mennonite
Educational Institute

Class II-Third and Fourth Year College and University

First Place: Daagya Shanti Dick, Bethel College, "A Trumpet or a Looking Glass? The Relationship between The Mennonite and The General Conference Mennonite Church on the issue of race, 1957-1965."

Second Place: Kimlyn J. Bender, Jamestown College, "The Baptismal Theology of Anabaptism in Comparison to Luther."

Honorable Mention: Larissa A. Fast, Bethel College, "Faith and Fire: An Analysis of Three Aspects of the Mennonite Experience in Russia during the First World War, the Revolution and the Civil War;" Silas

Langley, Fresno Pacific College, "America and the Conscientious Objector in the Early Cold War: Arthur Jost vs. the United States;" Betty A. Pries, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, "Of Days Gone By: From the Memoirs of Jakob Pries."

Class III-First and Second Year College and University

First Place: Tammy Sutherland, University of Winnipeg, "The Status of Women in Anabaptism: The Early Movement and Today."

Second Place: M. Burt McGrath, Eastern Mennonite College, "Theology as Imaginative Construction: Gordon Kaufman's Theological Method and Anabaptist Mennonite Theology."

Honorable Mention: Mary Neufeld,

University of Winnipeg, "Causes of the Mennonite Emigration 1874-1800s."

Class IV-High School


First Place: Joel Dick, United Mennonite Educational Institute, "Communion."

Total contest entries: 26

Awards: First, \$75, second, \$25, and one year subscription to **Mennonite Quarterly Review**; all entrants, one year subscription to **Mennonite Historical Bulletin**.

Judges: Leonard Gross, S. Duane Kauffman, H. Wayne Pipkin

Contest Manager: Levi Miller
Sponsor: Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main Street, Goshen, IN 46526

Deadline for entries of 1993 contest: June 15, 1993 

Mennonite and Related Church Historians and Committees

This directory lists North American Mennonite, Amish and related historical committees, societies, and conference historians. **Mennonite Historical Bulletin** publishes this list annually and would appreciate any updates or corrections from our readers.

Allegheny Conference Historical Committee, John E. Sharp, Mennonite Church of Scottdale, Scottdale, PA 15683 412 887 7470

Amish Heritage Committee, Daniel Beachy, 407 South Greene Road, Goshen, IN 46526 219 534 6530

Atlantic Coast Conference Historian, Margaret Derstine, 133 W. Main Street, Apt. 4, Strasburg, PA 17579 717 687 8259

Brethren in Christ Church, E. Morris Sider, Archives of Brethren in Christ Church, Messiah College, Grantham, PA 17027 717 691 6048

California Mennonite Historical Society, Peter J. Klassen, 4824 East Butler, Fresno CA 93727 209 453 2225

Casselman River Area Amish and Mennonite Historians, Kenneth L. Yoder, Box 591, Grantsville, MD 21536 301 895 5687

Central District Conference, GC Mennonite, Richard MacMaster, 256 Grove Street, Bluffton, OH 45817 419 358 8230

Conference of Mennonites in British Columbia, Christopher Arney, Box 2204, Clearbrook, BC V2T 3X8 604 850 6658

Conference of Mennonites in Canada History and Archives Committee, Lawrence Klippenstein, Mennonite Heritage Centre, 600 Shaftsbury Blvd., Winnipeg, R3P 0M4 204 888 6781

Conservative Mennonite Conference Historical Committee, Elmer S. Yoder, 3511 Edison Street, Hartsville OH 44632 216 877 9566

Cumberland Valley, Mennonite Historical Center, Roy M. Showalter, Box 335, State Line, PA 17263 301 733 7986

Essex-Kent Mennonite Historical Association, 31 Pickwick Drive, Leamington; mailing address: Harold Thiessen, Route 4, Leamington, ON N8H 3V7

General Conference Mennonite Church Historical Committee, David Haurly, 3132 SW Belle, Topeka, KS 66614 913 296 3251

Germantown Mennonite Church Corporation (1770 Meetinghouse, Rittenhouse Homestead, Johnson House), Galen R. Horst, 6133 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19144 215 843 0943

Heritage Historical Library, David Luthy, Route 4, Aylmer, ON Canada N5H 2R3

Heritage Keeper, Jan Gleysteen, Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, PA 15683 412 887 8500

Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society and Illinois Conference Historian, Edwin J. Stalter, Mennonite Heritage Center, Box 819, Metamora, IL 61548 309 367 2551 or 815 796 2918

Indiana-Michigan Conference Historian, Russell Krabill, 26221 Vista Lane, Elkhart, IN 46517 219 522 6869

Juniata Mennonite Historical Society, Noah L. Zimmerman, The Historical Center, HCR 63, Richfield, PA 17086 717 694 3543

Kidron Community Historical Society, Wayne Liechty, Box 14, Kidron, OH 44636 216 857 3375

Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Carolyn Charles Wenger, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602 717 393 9745

Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, Lawrence Klippenstein, 484 Berkley Street, Winnipeg, MB R3R 1J9 204 888 6718

Mennonite Archives of Ontario, Samuel Steiner, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G6 519 885 0220 ext. 238

Mennonite Brethren Churches (Canada) Historical Committee, Abe Dueck, Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 169 Riverton Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R2L 2E5 204 669 6575

Mennonite Brethren Conference (North American) Historical Commission, Paul Toews, Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 4824 East Butler, Fresno, CA 93727 209 453 2225

Mennonite Brethren Church (USA), Peggy Goertzen, Center for MB Studies, Tabor College, Hillsboro, KS 67063 316 9473121

Mennonite Church Historical Association, Levi Miller, Historical Committee and Archives of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526 219 535 7477

Mennonite Historical Library, Ann Hilty, Bluffton College, Bluffton, OH 45817 419 358 8015 ext. 365

Mennonite Historical Library, John D. Roth, Goshen College, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526 219 535 7418

Mennonite Historical Society, Walter Sawatsky, Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries, 3003 Benham Avenue, Elkhart, IN 46517 219 295 3726

Mennonite Historical Society of Alberta, Henry D. Goerzen, 76 Skyline Cres NE, Calgary AB T1Y 4V9 403 275 6935

Mennonite Historical Society of Canada, Ted E. Friesen, Box 720, Altona, MB R0G 0B0 204 324 6401

Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania, Carolyn S. Nolan, The MeetingHouse, 565 Yoder Road, Box 82, Harleysville, PA 19438 215 256 3020

Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa, Lois Gugel, 710 12th Street, Kalona, IA 52247 319 656 3732

Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario,

Lorna Bergey, 1414 King Street East, Apt. 1202, Kitchener, Ont. N2G 4T8 519 741 9951
Mennonite Library and Archives, John D. Thiesen, Bethel College, North Newton, KS 67117 316 283 2500 ext. 304

Michiana Anabaptist Historians, Russell Krabill, 26221 Vista Lane, Elkhart, IN 46517 219 522 6869

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Nebraska Mennonite Historical Society, Eldon Hostetler, 1014 First Street, Apt. 6, Milford, NE 68405 402 761 3072

North Central Mennonite Conference Historian, Melvin Hochstetler, Route 1, Box 116, Wolford, ND 58385 701 583 2562

Northern District Conference, Rachel Senner, Freeman Academy, 748 South Main, Freeman, SD 57209 605 925 4237

Northwest Conference Historian, Harry Stauffer, Route 1, Tofield, AB T0B 4J0 403 662 2144

Ohio Amish Library, Paul Kline, 4292 Star Route 39, Millersburg, OH 44654 216 893 2883

Ohio Conference Historical Committee, Wilmer Swope, 785 Beeson Mill Road, Leetonia, OH 44431 216 427 2039

Oregon Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society, Hope K. Lind, 28773, Gimpl Hill Road, Eugene, OR 97402 503 344 5974

Pacific Coast Conference, Margaret Shetler 5326 Briar Knob Loop NE, Scotts Mills, OR 97375 503 873 6406

Pequea Bruderschaft Library, on Old Leacock Road, one forth mile south of Gordonville, mailing address: 176 North Hollander Road, Gordonville, PA 17529

Saskatchewan Mennonite Historical Society, Dick H. Epp, 2326 Cairns Avenue, Saskatoon, Sask. Canada S7J 1V1

South Central Conference Historian, Bernice L. Hostetler, Route 2, Box 77, Harper, KS 67058 316 896 2040


Southwest Mennonite Conference Historian, David E. Yoder, 4730 W. Northern Avenue, # 2081, Glendale, AZ 85301 602 939 6203

Virginia Conference Historical Committee, James O. Lehman, Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, VA 22801 703 432 4170

Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups, Donald B. Kraybill, Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, PA 17022 717 367 1151

Western District Conference Historical Committee, Rachel Waltner Goossen, Box 97, Goessel, KS 67053 316 367 2464



At age 21 Norman A. (N.A.) Lind (1881-1968) left Wadsworth, Ohio, he confessed in his autobiography, to get away from home and to avoid the possibility of ordination. In 1901, N.A. worked for his brother John Lind in Birmingham, Alabama, and posed (extreme left) for this photo with his carpentry crew. The photo and N.A. Lind autobiography are a part of the N.A. Lind Collection in the Archives of the Mennonite Church. 

Archives of the Mennonite Church

By Dennis Stoesz

What follows is a sampling of acquisitions that have come into the Archives during the last six months of 1992. They are arranged in alphabetical order by the name of the collection.

East Goshen Mennonite Church, 1942- , Goshen, Indiana. 50th anniversary materials, including program held October 18, 1992, newspaper clippings, commemorative newsletter and photographs. 1 file folder. Donor: Melvin Voran.

Frey, Elias L., 1856-1942, Fulton County, Ohio. Plain coat, vest and pants of Frey, who served as bishop in the Archbold area. 1.25 linear feet. Donor: Jay Aeschliman, Bradenton, Florida.

Good, Viola, Goshen, Indiana. Papers, 1936-80, of her work at Goshen College as Dean of Women, 1936-64, and as Advisor to International

Students, 1957-77. 4 file folders. Donor: Viola Good.

Goshen College, Office of Business Manager, 1904- , Goshen, Indiana. Correspondence, 1904-51, from the various business managers during this time period, C.K. Hostetler, Frank S. Ebersole, J.S. Hartzler, John E. Weaver, Amos E. Kreider, Chris L. Graber, Edward F. Martin, Edwin Yoder and Leland Bachman. 15 linear feet. Donor: Mardene Kelley.


Goshen College, Hispanic Ministries Department, 1979- , Goshen, Indiana. Records, 1979-90, including correspondence, reports and minutes of this department. 2.5 linear feet. Donor: Juanita Santiago.

Illinois Mennonite Conference, 1872- , Tiskilwa, Illinois. Records, 1945-64, of minister's licenses, ordination certificates and letters of transfer. 1 file folder. Donor: Edwin J. Stalter.

La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, 1914-58, La Junta, Colorado. Assorted memorabilia, 1919-89, including nursing cap, photographs, diplomas, pins, and clippings from the 80th anniversary of the La Junta hospital, celebrated in 1989. 1.25 linear feet. Donor: Arlene Grieser.

Lehmann, Christian, ? - circa 1915, Lorraine, France. Amish sermons, nineteenth century, including funerals, ordination formularies, readings, opening remarks in a worship service, and communion service. Lehmann was minister of the Saaburg Mennonite congregation. Sermons are handwritten in the gothic script and are in the German language. Almost all have been translated into English by John Umble. 3.33 linear inches. Donor: Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College.

Lind, N. A., 1881-1968. Photographs, dating from the late nineteenth-century into the early twentieth century, of the Jacob Lind family at Wadsworth, Ohio, of Elkhart Institute at Elkhart, Indiana, and of the N.A. Lind family in Oregon. 4.5 linear inches. Donor: Millard Lind.

Miller, Ernest E., 1893-1975. Papers, dating from 1914-1975, and consisting of a photograph album of when Miller attended Goshen College in the 1910s, of talks he gave while he served as president of Goshen College, 1940-54, and of correspondence and photographs of when he served in India, 1950s-60s. 1.25 linear feet. Donor: Thelma Miller Groff. 

News and Notes


Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa hosted the semi-annual meetings of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church October 16-17, at Kalona Iowa. **Lester Miller**, president, and **Lois Gugel**, archivist, arranged for a meeting with the regional group and led a historic tour of the Kalona and Wellman area. The Historical Committee approved a collection development policy for the Archives of the Mennonite Church and also approved a budget of \$147,000 for the Historical Committee and Archives. A report of the year's activities and programs was sent to Mennonite Church Historical Association members in December.

A research grant of \$1,000 is being offered for the study of the Mennonite Church and inter-Mennonite aging movement from 1961 to the present. Emphasis is on use of primary documents in the Archives of the Mennonite Church. To apply or gain further information contact: Archives of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main Street, Goshen, IN 46526.

Donald W. Miller of Walnut Creek, Ohio, presented a rare Menno Simons **Fundamentbuch** (Foundation Book) to the Mennonite Church at its General Board meetings at Oak Grove Mennonite Church in Smithville, Ohio, November 19-21. This 1575, first German edition, was owned by Amish minister Jacob Hertzler (1703-1786) and will be placed in the rare book collection of Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College.


Myron S. Dietz has been selected



Germantown, the oldest Mennonite meetinghouse in continuing use in North America, is a symbol of Mennonite community and witness in North America since 1683. A reproduction of the 1955 Grant Simon lithograph (15 x 12 inches) showing the 1770 historic Germantown Mennonite meetinghouse is now available with the proceeds going to the non-profit corporation which preserves and maintains the meetinghouse. For a copy send \$22 to Germantown Corporation, Galen R. Horst-Martz, 6133 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19144. 

as the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society's lecturer and storyteller during March and April. Each year the society makes this popular resource available for the regional schools and congregations. Dietz will address topics such as Anabaptist, Hutterite and Mennonite history. He is a long-time teacher at Lancaster Mennonite High School, a member of the Old Order River Brethren Church, and a farmer.

Walter Sawatsky of Associated

Mennonite Biblical Seminaries in Elkhart, Indiana, will teach a summer course on "Rethinking Mennonite History." The seminar July 12-23 will include examining non-traditional sources such as the arts and "constructing a new interpretative framework for understanding contemporary Mennonite issues." For further information contact the seminaries (3003 Benham Avenue, Elkhart, IN 46517). 

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Daniel Musser and Leo Tolstoy

By Levi Miller



*In 1893, Leo Tolstoy completed **The Kingdom of God is Within You**. In this book he quoted appreciatively of Mennonite writer Daniel Musser's **Non-Resistance Asserted**. The two nonresistant writers shared not only a belief but a methodology: "a certain extremism in following a conviction to wherever it led." Print: Archives of the Mennonite Church, Robert Friedmann Collection*

In April of 1893, Leo Tolstoy completed three years of work on a publication which became the keystone of his nonresistant ethical beliefs. **The Kingdom of God is Within You** was written during some of the most turbulent years of Tolstoy's otherwise tempestuous life. In 1891, amid considerable family conflict, he gave up all royalties on his books printed in the last decade when he came to a conversion of total nonresistance to evil. He became deeply involved in famine relief efforts when severe drought came to the central and southwestern provinces of Russia in 1891 and 1892.

Upon visiting the hungry peasants, he was moved to action and wrote a "Help for the Hungry" article which brought food and money from all over Russia, even seven boatloads of corn flour from Minnesota millers. The Czar Alexander III's government was embarrassed, put out an official communiqué: "There is no famine in Russia," and harassed its most famous novelist and prophet with surveillance and informers. Even John F. Funk, the Mennonite editor in Indiana, reported in the **Herald of Truth** that Count Tolstoy "has been ordered by the Russian Government to return to his estate in consequence of a letter said to have been written by him."¹

However delayed, **The Kingdom of God** was completed in 1893 and promptly prohibited by the Russian censor. "No book has ever given me so much trouble," Tolstoy confided to his disciple Vladimir Chertkov.² Typed copies sped across the country and translations soon appeared in Germany, France, England and the United States.



The writings of William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), the American abolitionist who founded the New England Non-Resistance Society, brought "spiritual joy" to Tolstoy. Photo: Smith College, Women's History Archives, Sophia Smith Collection

One hundred years later *The Kingdom of God is Within You* is still in print in English, and Tolstoy is still a major interpreter of pacifism and of the Sermon of the Mount.³ Pacifist political theoreticians have traced a direct line of influence from Tolstoy to Mohandas Gandhi to Martin Luther King.⁴ Mennonite theologian Clarence Bauman began his comprehensive study of the meaning of the Sermon of the Mount with Leo Tolstoy because "it was through him that the Sermon on the Mount first became a problem to the modern conscience."⁵ Historian Robert Friedmann confessed that Tolstoy was his door of entry into Anabaptism after the disillusionment of the First World War: "The first awakening of my spiritual life I owe to

Leo Tolstoy. I began really as a Tolstoian."⁶

In *The Kingdom of God Is within You*, the Russian novelist and count quoted the Pennsylvania Mennonite writer Daniel Musser (1810-1877) from his work *Non-Resistance Asserted: or the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of this World Separated*.⁷ This Mennonite connection would become a prime example by which sectarian Mennonite pacifism had "broken through to a larger audience," as one Mennonite stated.⁸ The centennial of Tolstoy's publication becomes an occasion to review the relationship between Musser's *Non-resistance Asserted* and Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God*. But first an introduction to Tolstoy.

By 1893, Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) was well into his transition from being Russia's greatest novelist to also becoming one of the world's greatest moralists. After writing the two great works *War and Peace* (1869) and *Anna Karenina* (1878), he went into a dark night of mental and spiritual angst. He contemplated suicide, read various scriptures, and finally read the Christian Gospels in which he discovered that the teachings of the Gospels and Jesus Christ were different from the "church doctrine called Christianity." Among the clearest teachings he found were that participation in war was incompatible with Christ's teaching.

He published his discoveries of the way in which "church doctrine perverts the teaching of Christ" in *What I Believe* in 1884, a book which was soon distributed in Russia and abroad. This publication brought him into contact with the American Quakers, who sent him many books and letters and declarations from the nonresistance movement in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Kingdom of God Is within You

In *The Kingdom of God* Tolstoy reviewed the thoughts of various writers and leaders of peace in history. He refuted the arguments he had heard against nonresistance since the publication of *What I Believe*. Whether it was on the abolition of private property or the Christian teaching of non-resistance, it was Tolstoy's genius to approach every subject as if he were the first one to discover it. In this spirit, he appealed to pacifist history.

Tolstoy received numerous publications from the son of American abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), who noted the similarity between Tolstoy's ideas and those of his father. Garrison was the fiery abolitionist who eventually approved of Abraham Lincoln and supported the Northern Union's military forces during the Civil War.

Tolstoy quoted in full the "Declaration of Sentiments adopted by the Peace Convention" in Boston of 1838 but noted that the New England Non-resistance Society which Garrison founded soon declined when it was feared that the radical pacifism would deter people from "the practical work of negro-emancipation" (p. 11). Garrison, Tolstoy later was to say, brought him "spiritual joy" in discovering that already in the 1840s he had learned the "law of non-resistance" (p. 575).

There was also Adin Ballou (1803-1890). Less flamboyant than Garrison, Ballou was tied closely to the utopian Hopedale community at Milford, Massachusetts, which lasted from about 1841 to 1856. When Tolstoy read Ballou's obituary in the American *Religio-Philosophical Journal* without

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any reference to Ballou's pacifism, he was convinced that "a kind of tacit, but obstinate, conspiracy of silence" exists concerning all those who believe in nonresistance (p.22).

Another work which Tolstoy encountered was *The Net of Faith* by Petr Chelčický, the fifteenth century Czech reformer. Again, Tolstoy was amazed at the disregard for this publication, which called for Christians to eschew all violence as well as vocations such as ruler, soldier, merchant or landowner (p. 26). He noted that Chelčický taught what was presently taught by the nonresistant Mennonites and Quakers as well as by the pre-Constantinian Christian church.

"But still more startling is the general neglect of two other books of which I also learned when my book appeared. These are Dymond's *On War*, first published in London in 1824, and Daniel Musser's *On Non-resistance*, written in 1864. It is particularly astonishing that these books should not be known, because—not to speak of their worth—they both treat not so much of the theory as of the practical application to life of the relation of Christianity to military service, which is particularly important and interesting now in view of the universal liability to military service" (p. 27).

Both Jonathan Dymond (1796-1828), the British Quaker, and Daniel Musser responded to the question of "How should a subject behave who believes war to be incompatible with his religion" when there is universal conscription. He noted that Musser wrote this essay during the United States Civil War when many have raised the question of why some persons received the protection and advantages of government but did not share in its defense. Musser then set out to explain the principle of nonresistance.

Tolstoy concluded that "our author proves the binding nature of the rule of non-resistance for a Christian, and that this command is quite clear and is indubitably enjoined by Christ upon every Christian" (p. 31). He noted that Musser not only renounced military service but also that the Christian should not participate in any institution of government such as courts of law, elections, the use of police. He mentioned further his treatment of the relation of the Old



Longenecker's Reformed Mennonite Church Meetinghouse in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where Daniel Musser was a minister. The original frame meeting house was built in 1812; the current brick structure was built in 1898. Photo: A History of the Reformed Mennonite Church

and New Testament, the importance of government for non-Christians, and a clear church and world dualism. Tolstoy concluded with this quotation of Musser's sectarian dualism:

"Christ took his disciples out of the world. They do not expect worldly advantage and worldly happiness, but they expect eternal life. The spirit in which they live renders them contented and happy in any situation. If the world tolerates them, they are always contented. If the world will not leave them in peace, they will go elsewhere, since they are pilgrims on the earth and have no fixed abode. They believe that 'the dead may bury their dead,' but they need only one thing—to follow their Master" (p. 32).

With this strict—even extreme—Mennonite dualism, Tolstoy concluded his summary of Musser by noting, somewhat diffidently, that one can leave aside "the correctness or otherwise of the statement" and still recognize the urgency of answering the question of military conscription. He did note that "hundreds of thousands" of "Quakers, Mennonites, our Doukhobors, Molokans and others unattached to any definite sect" considered violence and military service incompatible with Christianity (p. 32).

One should note here that aside from referring to Musser's book, Tolstoy also mentioned in *The*

Kingdom of God his awareness of the Mennonite colonists living in the Russian empire. He noted their nonresistant beliefs and forestry service in lieu of military service several times (pp. 34, 218).

Several elements of Musser in this volume should also be noted. First, Tolstoy's summary of Musser was quite small (three pages of 460 pages in the 1974 Oxford University Press edition), and he was not as major an influence as was William Lloyd Garrison. Also, nowhere did Tolstoy identify Musser as a Mennonite; nor did Musser identify himself as such in his own book, referring rather to "non-resistants" and "Christians." True Christians in Musser's vocabulary were "non-resistants." Only in a section on church history (p. 37), did Musser refer to his own denomination, along with the Albigenses and Waldenses in the catholic pacifist tradition.

With this introduction to Musser, Tolstoy devoted the rest of *The Kingdom of God* with a mix of his own philosophy of nonresistance and instructive stories from his own experiences with soldiers, government and the military. His stories, reflecting his own youth as a soldier, especially explored the gentleness of soldiers in their personal lives as sons, brothers and fathers, and the brutality of their vocation. The book might be

considered a mix of narrative apologetics for nonresistance for religious people and progressive scientific thinkers, an exposition of an inevitable progressive pacifist enlightenment, a critique of all governments, and a call to repentance. The recent American edition calls it: "Christianity not as a mystic religion but as a new theory of life."⁹

Tolstoy was more novelist than systematic thinker, and if certain contradictions existed in his positions, this condition was inherent in his practice, even if he had wished it otherwise. One of the tragedies of Tolstoy's life was that not only was he one of the greatest proponents of nonresistance and nonviolence to military service, but he presided over one of the most emotionally violent family systems in recorded history. The diaries of Tolstoy, his wife Sofya Behrs, and their twelve children (several died in infancy) read like the script of a twentieth-century PBS documentary on the dissolution—well, the destruction—of a family.

Tolstoy's argument with the intellectuals after the Enlightenment was that they accepted the organized church's definition of supernatural religion and "the Trinity, the Redemption, miracles, Churches, spirit of Christ" (p. 107). In this way, they lost the meaning of Christianity and also of the practicality of the Sermon on the Mount.

Theories of human progress and betterment were common among nineteenth century intellectuals, and Tolstoy developed his own three stages of "life conceptions." The personal stage had the primitives who lived for personal desires and to propitiate the deity. The second stage, the social group, climaxed in imperial Rome where people lived for the tribe, the family, the race and the state. The third stage, the divine, was arriving. It began with the appearance of Christianity where the goal of life was love.

The inevitable coming of the third life conception, the divine, would bring the disappearance of government and the military system. For Tolstoy the best government was not that which governs least; the best government was that which ceased to exist. If the organized church was one of the greatest deterrents to true Christianity, the organization with the most corruption, violence, oppression,

and evil was the government.

"Christianity in its true sense puts an end to the state. It was so understood from its very beginning, and for that Christ was crucified" (p. 218).

The Enlightenment led many of its children to reform government, even the revolutionary reform of a social contract in the Western democracies. But here Tolstoy parted company with liberal reformers; his was not a call for the Russian government to become less corrupt or violent or to become more democratic. He frequently added footnotes of the way in which democracies in England and the United States were as illegitimate as was the rule of the Czar and his army.

The United States, he admitted, may have had a small standing army, but a larger state army "in addition to Pinkerton's army" would increasingly be needed to safeguard the position of the ruling classes. At various times Tolstoy admitted that he did not know how it would be if there were no government, but he was willing to take his chances, comparing anarchy to chicks breaking out of a nest of eggs.

"Standing as we are on the threshold of the terrible calamity of a revolutionary civil war," he saw a better world coming. "Increasingly people are not accepting the inheritances they have not earned from their own labor and people are going into vocations of medicine, teaching, artists, writers or simple tillers of the soil rather than law, civil service, military and religious" (p. 319). As a "Christian public opinion" increased, no longer could people be found to occupy the power of government. But if a "life conception of love" was inevitably arriving, there was still a need for persons to help it along. Personal choice and effort were good. The book ends with Christ's prophetic call: "Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand."

The Kingdom of God is a compelling book for its uncompromising exposition of the inconsistency between the Christian Gospel and the use of violence. It stands as a sustained critique of how majority Christian practice has separated itself from Christ's pure teachings of nonresistant love. Politically, Mohandas Gandhi adapted elements of its nonviolent philosophy with Indian Satyagraha to drive the British Raj out of India. Many twentieth century pacifists and war resisters have received inspiration

from the example of Tolstoy's uncompromising exposition of nonresistance.

Tragically, however, many of Tolstoy's readers did not repent, and the twentieth century's savage civil conflicts, totalitarian dictators, two world wars, and programmed starvation brought their own critique on Tolstoy's views of human progress. A recent biographer A. N. Wilson called **The Kingdom of God** an "infinitely sad book to read. It is as far as an eighteenth century rationalist can go in pointing out how human beings have fallen short of the ideals of Christ. But he starts with a neutered Christ, the Christ of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, a Christ purged of miracle and of terror, a Christ who can only hold out barely attainable ideals to help decent people be a little more decent."

Wilson concluded that Tolstoy's Christ may have spoken to a Western rationalist or a Christian Modernist but hardly to the millions who died from Stalin and Hitler's camps, purges and battles. "To those numberless and nameless ones, perhaps, who had suffered from the oppression of unbridled evil, triumphant, irrational demonic power, Dostoyevsky's **The Devils** makes more sense."¹⁰ But on this topic Tolstoy also differed from Musser's **Non-resistance Asserted** which he so appreciatively quoted.

Non-Resistance Asserted

It is not known how Tolstoy got a copy of Daniel Musser's **Non-Resistance Asserted**. The Quakers may have sent it to him, even if Francis Herr, a founder of Daniel Musser's branch of Mennonites, spent much of his life in criticizing the Quakers and their political involvement. Daniel Musser (1810-1877) belonged to the Reformed Mennonites, one of the smallest and strictest Mennonite groups which organized itself in 1812 and in 1906 had 2,079 members in 34 congregations, mainly in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Ontario. In the twentieth century the group's membership declined until, at present, it is estimated at under 500.¹¹

Reformed Mennonite Church members were Christian perfectionists who took the sixteenth century

Anabaptist teaching on the ban and shunning to its limits. Their own self-understanding was that they were true to their beginnings, and the Lancaster Mennonites had "a departure from the principles and practices of Menno and his brethren."¹² Strict shunning and the ban were in the Menno Simons *Fundamentbuch* of 1539 and in the 1632 Dordrecht Confession of Faith. Most Lancaster Mennonites also believed in the ban as a principle taught in I Corinthians 5 but did not follow its pure separatism in practice.

American Mennonite historian Theron Schlabach called Daniel Musser "rather a phenomenon. He was a physician in a church whose men were mostly farmers and craftsmen. He wrote with remarkable style, vocabulary, and evidence of reading. And even when he was very polemical he had a knack for sounding gracious. Whatever the merits of his ideas, he was perhaps the most systematic theologian of any nineteenth-century Mennonite group."¹³

Musser's essay of 46 pages began with Jesus' statement in Matthew 5 of not resisting evil, and he was writing for people who confess that statement. "It is well known that there are great number of people in the United States, who profess to be conscientiously opposed to war" (p. 5). He noted that many Civil War protagonists, not acquainted with the doctrine are refuting it as unreasonable and unscriptural. This did not surprise Musser given that many among the "non-resistants or defenseless Christians" also did not understand the principle correctly nor practice it consistently, therefore bringing it into disrepute.

For example, many voted for the "chief magistrate of these United States," who was also the head of the army. Also, living as he did in Lancaster County, he noted that many voted for Thaddeus Stevens, "an avowed war candidate for Congress," but then refused to serve when the draft was instituted and their spiritual leaders even testified for these people.

Musser wanted to establish two issues: one, that government was legitimate and two, that Christians should not participate in it. The legitimacy of government he found in the New Testament epistles, in the Genesis story of the Adamic Fall, in Romans 13 and probably also in his own people's favorable experience in

the United States. In Musser's religious economy there were two types of people, the converted and the unconverted.

Among the unconverted, some may be moral, just, humane and honorable but "a large proportion was also the reverse—unjust, immoral, and dishonorable. Government was to control the latter. It was a divine institution" (p. 10). Before the Fall, he said there was no need for the Law, but since then there was self-love which caused violence and injustice. Government with the sword was to maintain order and decency.

But the Christian could not participate in government and in war. In this section he especially wanted to recognize the honorable people who led the government, the "Fathers of the Revolution" who were models of virtue, patriotism, and honesty. (p. 38) Musser was ready to concede all these qualities to them, but he would not grant them the status of Christ. "I yield to no man in admiration of moral virtue, but Christ must still remain the rule of my faith." (p. 38) Christ and the Apostles' commands were clear that Christians "shall not resist the powers that be, how can they be true Christians who resist and overthrow their government?" (p. 39).

He introduced the traditional arguments of why Christians could not

NON-RESISTANCE ASSERTED:

OR THE

Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of this World

SEPARATED

AND

NO CONCORD BETWEEN CHRIST AND BELIAL.

IN TWO PARTS.

BY DANIEL MUSSER.

LANCASTER, PA.:
ELIAS BARR & CO., PUBLISHERS.

PBARROL & GEIST, PRINTERS.
1864.

73

Daniel Musser's booklet Non-Resistance Asserted: or the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of this World Separated appeared in 1864. Although Musser and Tolstoy agreed on nonresistance, Musser's views on government and human nature differed sharply from those of Tolstoy. This copy is in the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College.

participate in warfare such as the inconsistency of Christians killing each other in Germany, France and England. He also addressed the difference between the Old and New Testament, and that he followed the New Testament.

But in regards to government, he granted almost unlimited power to rule with the unspoken assumption that these are benign and just rulers who would, in the terminology of the Dordrecht Confession: "punish the wicked and protect the good." This two-kingdom logic allowed the



Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910). Although he commented appreciatively of *Non-Resistance Asserted*, the influence of Daniel Musser on Tolstoy must be considered minimal. Print from booklet *Leo Tolstoi, Partiotismus und Regierung*, in Archives of the Mennonite Church, Robert Friedmann Collection

"honorable heathen" such as Washington and Lincoln to rule and allowed the nonresistants to live in peace by their faith. Musser addressed the issue of a "just war" and finally concluded that he did not know when a war was just, including the present Civil War.

He would not endorse the war; neither could he find fault with the government (the Northern Unionists or the Southern Secessionists) for fighting this war. Even though it appeared desirable that the Union be restored, slavery abolished, and reforms instituted, he would not pray for the success of either of the armies. Musser left the winning army to the providence of God even though "No one can be otherwise than pained at the thoughts of the effusion of blood this war has induced—at the great suffering consequent upon it" (p. 41).

But the nonresistant could not fight or participate in war on any level. And finally, he wrote how little this participation should be. He drew the line at the paying of taxes, which the Christians should do, but Christians should not pay commutation fees for others. Here was the line his fellow church members should not cross in regard to the participation in war. He concluded his gracious but polemical tract by exhorting nonresistants to work hard and stay apart from the world and ended with the sharp church-world dichotomy which Tolstoy quoted as noted above.

Tolstoy and Musser

One should note several commonalities Tolstoy and Musser shared which could have led them in the same direction. First, in belief, they shared a thoroughgoing nonresistance to participation in war which they followed with great rigor. Beyond that, they both believed that Christ's followers should not even participate in government on any level.

Second, in methodology they shared a certain extremism in following a conviction to wherever it led. In the language of Isaiah Berlin's essay, "The Hedgehog and the Fox" (based on the Greek poet Archilochus, "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing"), Musser was a hedgehog and Tolstoy aspired to be one.¹⁴

For Tolstoy the big idea was the inevitability that nonresistance would become the theory of life for all, in all circumstances. For Musser the big idea was the separation of the true non-resistant church and the discipline which was to characterize such a faithful church.

Berlin traced Tolstoy's influence to Rousseau but even more to Count Joseph de Maistre. This anti-revolutionary theocratic writer shared Tolstoy's skepticism of the liberalism which appealed to many European intellectuals already in the eighteenth century. Musser's dogmatic hedgehog logic and theological extremism appealed to Tolstoy's sense of following the truth to its limits. Tolstoy admired a moral purity which was unencumbered by his own imaginative or novelistic sense of the paradoxical dilemmas of human existence. He extolled a moral purity which refused the compromises of governing. Indeed, his anarchism had no room for governing.

There is no record that Tolstoy also got copies of similar nonresistance tracts by John F. Funk and John M. Brenneman, both also Mennonites, published in 1863. But should he have, one could understand why these moderate, more nuanced non-resistance statements would have interested him less or why he may have chosen not to quote them at all.


But several differences should also be noted. Tolstoy was an influential count who had no sense of being a minority people. He was an individualistic artist, to be sure, and had a high regard for sects, especially native Russian ones such as the Doukhobors and the Molokans. But he thought of himself as a Russian, had grown up close to the Romanov court, and remained within its circle, however much he may have detested it.

On the other hand, Musser might be called a resident alien, a member of a minority religion which had a sharp identity apart from the rest of society and even against other Mennonite and Quaker nonresistants. Musser's main argument is not with the government but with the Quakers and other Mennonites, who have not separated themselves sufficiently from the government.

Finally, there was a difference on the nature of humanity. Musser held a low view of human nature left to itself, and consequently a high view of government. Although living 100 years before Reinhold Niebuhr, Musser would have agreed with his stress on the pervasiveness of human evil, and the need of government to control it. Tolstoy, who late in life recommended Rousseau's *Emile* as the best book ever

written on education, saw humans as essentially good and government as inherently and indescribably evil.

Although Tolstoy commented appreciatively on **Non-resistance Asserted**, the influence of Musser on Tolstoy and **The Kingdom of God is within You** must be considered minimal. Both Musser and Tolstoy shared a non-resistant belief based on Christ's teachings, but Tolstoy had come to this belief long before he read Musser's tract, however confirming Musser's polemic may have been to him. Nonetheless, in methodology and temperament the two writers had striking affinities.

Finally, if Daniel Musser's writing and the Russian Mennonites' nonresistant example had even minor influence on Tolstoy, then we must also note that the Russian writer returned the favor by influencing some of the Mennonites' keenest minds in the twentieth century. But that is the subject of another essay. 

Levi Miller is director of the Historical Committee and Archives of the Mennonite Church.

¹ *Herald of Truth* 26 no.6 (March 15, 1892): 91.

² Background information based on Henri Troyat, *Tolstoy* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), 525; and A.N. Wilson, *Tolstoy* (N.Y.: Norton, 1988).

³ Leo Tolstoy, Translated by Aylmer Maude, *The Kingdom of God and Peace Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974). Page numbers in this essay refer to his edition.

⁴ Duane K. Friesen, *Christian peace-making and international conflict: a realist pacifist perspective* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1986), 227.

⁵ Clarence Bauman, *The Sermon on the Mount: The Modern Quest for its Meaning* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1985), 406.

⁶ Leonard Gross, "Converstaions with Robert Friedmann," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 48, no.2 (April 1974): 146.

⁷ Daniel Musser, *Non-Resistance Asserted: or the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of this World Separated* (Lancaster, PA.: Elias Barr and Co., Publishers, 1864). Page numbers in this essay refer to his edition found in the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College. A second part, *No Concord between Christ and Belial*, was also printed in 1864, but Tolstoy apparently did not have it or chose not to refer to it.

⁸ John R. Burkholder, *Issues To Discuss* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1979), 186. Originally published as "Witness to the State: A Mennonite Perspective," *Gospel Herald* (August 17, 1976).

⁹ Leo Tolstoy, Translated by Garnett Constance, *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

¹⁰ A.N. Wilson, *Tolstoy* (N.Y.: Norton, 1988), 412.

¹¹ Church leaders have not given membership information to the *Mennonite Yearbook* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House) since the mid-seventies.

¹² Wilmer J. Eshelman, *A History of the Reformed Mennonite Church* (Lancaster, Pa.: Graphic Crafts, Inc., 1969), 13.

¹³ Theron F. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1988), 108.

¹⁴ Isaiah Berlin, *The Hedgehog and the Fox* (New York: Mentor Books, 1957).

Recent Publications

Arndt, Carolyn M. *Descendents of Preacher John Shirk*. 1979. Pp. 180.

\$12.00. Order from author, Route 1, Box 76, Mt. Pleasant Mills, PA 17853.

Borntrager, Mary Christner. *Reuben*. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1992. Pp. 158. \$5.95.

Classen, Susan. *Vultures and Butterflies*. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1992. Pp. 184. \$7.95.

Good, Merle and Phyllis Pellman. *Ideas for Families*. Intercourse: Good Books. 1992. Pp. 252. \$9.95.

Hildebrand, Edward D. *Hildebrand: a family history*. Pp. 229. Order from author, 5563 Haida Way, Blaine, WA 98230.

Hoover, Jesse W. *A History of the Hock (anglicized) Hoke Family 1405-1990*. 1990. Pp. 426. \$25.00. Order from Samuel A. Hoke, 773 N. Medway Rd., New Carlisle, OH 45344.

Klassen, Annie. *Schmidt: a family genealogy of Solomon and Maria Schmidt and their descendents*. 1991. Pp. 702. \$60.00. Order from George Dyck, Box 218, Aberdeen, Sask. S0K 0A0


Schlegel, Catherine. *The Family of Johannes Sommer and Barbara Risser 1825-1990*. 1990. Pp. 112. Order from Lorraine Roth, 411-65 Westmount Road N., Waterloo, Ont. N2L 5G6.

Sensenig, Leonard E. *The Ancestors and Descendents of Martin H. and Lydia Martin 1846-1990*. 1990. Pp. 132. \$9.00. Order from author, Route 1, Box 391, McAlisterville, PA 17049.

Shirk, Henry Yocom. *The Shirk Family History and Genealogy from 1665-1914*. 1992 reprint of 1914 edition. Pp. 159. Order from John S. Shirk, Lantoga Farms, 3000 Butter Rd., Lititz, PA 17543.

Stoltzfus, Louise. *Favorite Recipes from Quilters*. Intercourse: Good Books, 1992. Pp. 329. \$11.95.

Stoltzfus, Victor. *Church-Affiliated Higher Education*. Goshen (Indiana) College: Pinchpenny Press, 1992. Pp. 124. \$6.19.

Further information on the above books may be obtained from Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, College, IN 46526 

An Invitation

Mennonite Church Historical Association

July 29, 1993

Five o'clock Dinner Meeting

Pennsylvania Convention Center in Philadelphia, Mennonite Church General Assembly

Speaker: Albert N. Keim, Eastern Mennonite College Historian and Biographer of Harold S. Bender, on "The Evolution of The Anabaptist Vision"

For reservations: Galen Horst-Martz, Germantown Mennonite Church Corporation, 6133 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19144 215 843 0943



The Goshen College 'Groves of Academe,' August, 1914

By Susan Fisher Miller

The chorus donned Old Testament costume, the soloists were in fine voice, and the sky over Goshen College twinkled with stars the evening of August 7, 1914. Organized "to stimulate interest in the better type of music," the Goshen Choral Society brought together over 50 community and Goshen College singers to dramatize Handel's sacred cantata, "Saul."

"To more faithfully interpret the story to the audience, the entire production was memorized and given on the campus lawn," commented the Goshen College *Record* in its July-August, 1914, issue. "With its setting here amidst the background of trees and shrubbery and under the starlit sky the story was beautifully interpreted by the able chorus of singers."

The director of the Goshen Choral Society, Alvin J. Miller, was a member

of the near legendary college ensemble, The Rambler Quartet. The Society's soloists were also local favorites: South Bend's tall, dramatic bass, Gerald Hunt, as Saul; Harvey Crawford, a tenor of Elkhart, as Jonathan; Cleopatra Meyers, a Goshen soprano, as Michal; the tenor Leland Greenwalt, another member of the Ramblers, in the role of David; and tenor Walter Yoder as the aged Samuel. Ruth Steffey, with two witch assistants, sang the role of the Witch of Endor; a group of young girls played "Damsels." A local pianist, Mrs. M.C. Dow, with a small orchestra, accompanied the chorus.

"One of the greatest musical successes ever given in Goshen by a local organization," declared the *Daily Democrat*. By popular request, the performance was repeated August 13.

This display of open-air musical drama reminds us that Goshen College's earliest years were not its most conservative. Captured midway

between the Elkhart Institute's move to Goshen in 1903, and the college's temporary closing in 1923-24, the 1914 photograph of the Goshen Choral Society evokes the period some call "the Old Goshen," a bygone era in Goshen College history distinguished, paradoxically, by its modernity.

One mark of Old Goshen modernity, evident in the "Saul" undertaking, was the college's free commerce with influences beyond the campus gates. Musical activity often brought Goshen College into proximity with the outside world, sometimes in ways deemed inappropriate by a watchful Mennonite constituency.

The Goshen Choral Society had its precedent in the Handel Oratorio Society, whose 1904 December performance of "Messiah" choruses were directed by Goshen professor W.K. Jacobs. This concert allowed students and faculty (including a smartly-dressed President Noah Byers)



to rub shoulders with local vocalists and Chicago soloists in front of the imposing organ of the First Methodist Episcopal Church.

In 1913-14, the enterprising musical year that culminated in "Saul," Goshen College choruses (now led by a third Rambler, the handsome Professor Amos Ebersole) performed sacred works including George Root's "David the Shepherd Boy" and Gounod's "Redemption." At the same time, the college also sponsored a recital of grand opera by "the Danish Caruso," Enrico Palmetto. Light program selections such as "Awake, My Pretty Dreamer," performed on and off campus by the dapper members of the Men's Glee Club, were clearly imported from beyond the Mennonite pale, but tolerated in the varied mix of campus musical culture.


The collaboration of college and community on "Saul" had a difficult local act to follow: the Redpath Chautauqua, featuring grand opera, light opera, bell-ringing and magic, had folded its tent on the Madison Street school lot only a week before. And other distractions loomed, both small and large. A drought in northwest Goshen threatened what had been a promising corn crop. Feuding Gypsy families camped outside of town excited the local

During a rich musical year, on August 7, 1914, Goshen College and the Goshen Choral Society brought together over 50 community and Goshen College singers to dramatize Handel's sacred cantata, "Saul." Seated at left: unidentified (one woman is Ruth Steffey (Hansel) [the Witch of Endor]). On chairs in front (left to right): Assistant Instructor of Music Walter E. Yoder [Samuel]; Dean Paul E. Whitmer; Assistant Instructor of History Alvin J. Miller; Professor of Philosophy and Education John S. Winter?. Children's group at far right: kneeling at left, _____ Ebersole; rest unidentified. Standing (left to right): Leland B. Greenwalt [David]?; Christopher J. Gerber; Truman T. Miller; Orie O. Miller; Douglas J. Walgren?; William E. Landis; Clemens Hallman; Ernest E. Miller; Oscar Yoder; Hannah E. Reed Yoder; unidentified; Mary E. Yoder Miller; next three persons unidentified; Ruth Landis Umble Gerig; Esther Schott Lamse; next six unidentified; Florence Landis Schertz; Pearl Dausman Huitema; Fern C. Lantz Rehner; Anna E. Christophel Mullet; unidentified; Clara Grabill Mower; Ida Eby; Ruth Blosser Miller?; Mary S. Thornton; Nellie Kauffman; unidentified; Grace Hostetler Blosser; Edgar O. Stuckman; Esther Smoker Hoover; Amos M. Showalter; Orus R. Yoder; Nelson Bechtel?; Walter E. Oswald; Bertram H. Smith; Paul Blosser. Amos E. Kreider participated in the event but is not pictured here. Please send any further identifications or corrections to Susan Fisher Miller at *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*. Photo: Goshen College, Mennonite Historical Library

citizenry.

In Europe, war had been declared just days before the "Saul" performance.

Still, on a warm summer evening, patrons paid 20 and 35 cents to hear interpreted in the open air of Goshen College the rise and fall of the first Hebrew king. As evidence of a successful moment in college-community relations, and of the joyous spirit animating campus events, the photograph preserves the sweetness

and light of "the Old Goshen." 

Susan Fisher Miller of Evanston, Illinois, is writing a centennial history of Goshen College. She wishes to express appreciation to the following people for assistance in identifying the photograph: Al Albrecht, Clara Hooley Hershberger, Beth Landis, Alice Gerig Martin, Grace Kennel Miller, Joe Springer, Nelson Springer, Dennis Stoesz, Dwight Weldy.

The Iowa Mennonites of Kalona and Wellman

Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa

By Lois Gugel

Amish and Mennonites are scattered across various areas of Iowa, but this article will focus on the Mennonites in Johnson, Washington and Iowa Counties. The total Mennonite and Amish membership is about 4,000 in this community. Among the Amish churches are Old Order (six districts), New Order, and Beachy. Among the Mennonites are Conservative Conference (341 in three congregations), Non-conference, Iowa-Nebraska Conference (2,134 in 10 congregations) and Central District Conference (313 in two congregations).

Information on a historical marker, which the Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa placed on the Lower Deer Creek Church grounds in 1982, gives concise information on how the Johnson County area was settled. The title is, "Early Amish Mennonite Settlers" and the text follows:

"In 1845 Daniel P. Guengerich of Ohio and Joseph J. Swartzendruber of Maryland, half brothers, arrived in this area exploring possible new homesteads. Impressed by the fertile Johnson County soil, the hickory groves and clear running streams, they decided this was the ideal frontier on which to settle, to build homes for their families and to establish a church. The land they selected along Deer Creek, later designated as Washington Township, would furnish water, native grasses, food and fuel. The nearby State Capital of Iowa City would provide trading opportunities.

"The following year Swartzendruber, the Guengerich family, and the William Wertz family from Ohio came by boat to Muscatine. From here they traveled by wagon to Iowa City, a week later they arrived at the place they had discovered the previous year. The families began clearing and tilling the soil and building log cabins and household furniture from the surrounding woodlands. Wertz and Swartzendruber then walked to Dubuque, where they entered their land claims officially with the U.S. Government. Later Guengerich also



Officers of the Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa in 1993 are: (front) Enos Miller, treasurer; Lester J. Miller, chair; (back) Ralph Miller, Glen Guengerich, and Murdal Weidlein. Photo: Dennis Stoesz

went to Dubuque to enter his claim.

"In the first year of their settlement the pioneers were stricken by a fever called "Ague." One-year-old Christina Guengerich died of the disease. Weakened and discouraged, Swartzendruber went back east but returned ten years later. He married and now brought his family to the hickory groves of his former claim.

"As more settlers arrived, the first Amish Mennonite church was established in 1851, with twenty-seven charter members. In 1860 Swartzendruber was ordained to the ministry in the church, and organized the first Sunday School in Washington Township. William Wertz, a skilled blacksmith and craftsman, worked among settlers and Indians with equal enthusiasm, sharing meals with the natives. They returned the hospitality. Daniel Guengerich was the writer and historian of the group. He kept records from which the story of the early Deer Creek settlement was obtained.

"These humble, courageous settlers expressed their faith in God who

helped them conquer the new frontier. Their Amish Mennonite descendants have built churches, schools, and other related institutions which further developed the community."

Over the years many Mennonite Iowans have become prominent leaders in the Mennonite Church. Among these people who were raised in this area of Iowa who went on to become well-known leaders and writers were: Sanford C. Yoder, president of Goshen College; Melvin Gingerich, historian and archivist; Guy F. Hershberger, author of **War, Peace and Non-Resistance**; Edward Yoder, philosopher and scholar; Glen R. Miller, chemistry professor at Goshen College; Olive G. Wyse, one of the first women to hold a doctorate in Mennonite Church; and John A. Hostetler, Amish scholar.

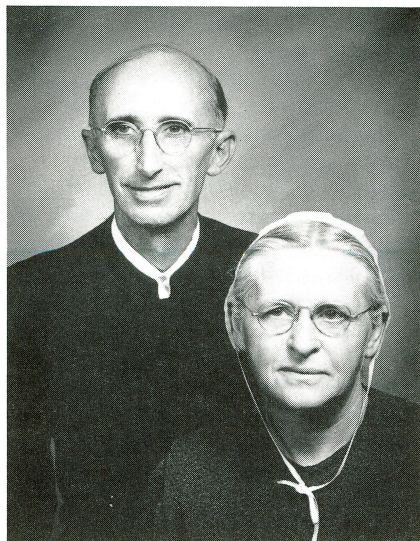
Several Mennonite institutions have been organized. Iowa Mennonite School, a high school begun in 1945, has a 1992-93 enrollment of 183. The motto, "Holding Forth the Word" is the goal toward which the school

continues to work with its strong academic and music programs. It recently also received recognitions for its interscholastic sports programs. A biennial Inter-term gives students varied challenging service experiences with different cultures and situations.

Pleasantview Home was begun in Kalona in 1951. Operated by the Mennonite Benevolent Association, it serves both Mennonites and non-Mennonites. Recent changes have been made and the Nursing Facility now has 80 beds while the Residential Care Facility has 44.

The Crowded Closet, a thrift store in Iowa City, is celebrating its 15th year in 1993. The World Marketplace, a self-help store, also in Iowa City, was begun in 1989. Close to Washington, Iowa, a Mennonite campground has been operating since 1981.

Organizational historical efforts began with Elmer Swartzendruber, bishop of the Conservative Mennonite Churches of Iowa, in 1948 calling interested people together to discuss the possibility of organizing a historical society for the Mennonite churches. A constitution was drawn up and the Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa was officially organized. In 1970 the Society voted to erect a building to store, protect and file the books, documents, artifacts and



Elmer G. and Mary Bender Swartzendruber. Elmer Swartzendruber (1890-1960), a bishop in the Conservative Mennonite Conference, led in the formation of a historical society for the Mennonite churches in 1948. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

photos that had been collected.

At this same time the Kalona Historical Society was moving and restoring the old Kalona Depot. It was decided that the two buildings should be in the same area. From this beginning, the Kalona Historical Village has grown to include not only the Mennonite Museum and Archives and the depot, but also a log house, school house, grandpa house, Wahl Museum, agricultural building, post office, line shaft building, and outdoor oven. The address for the Village is 411 9th st., Kalona, IA 52247 and the phone number for the Mennonite Museum is (319) 656-3271.

This village is the site of the annual Fall Festival held the last weekend of September. At the Festival the Mennonite Society operates an applebutter booth next to the outdoor oven where bread is being baked. Enjoying slices of bread with warm applebutter has become a big attraction, and many jars of applebutter are sold. This applebutter booth along with a percentage of the money taken at the gate becomes the main source of income for the Mennonite Society.

The Mennonite Society now has 120 members and meets twice a year for public meeting. While thousands visit the village and the Mennonite Museum each year, there are also 30 to 40 people who do either genealogical or other research in the Mennonite Library and Archives. Three guides take turns in the museum, and two archivists work in the library and archives. The museum is open 10-4 from April 1 to October 31 and in November 11-3. Otherwise it is open by appointment.

The library and archives has many Iowa Mennonite books and documents for the researcher, both serious and otherwise. Along with many genealogical books and records are files of Mennonite periodicals, books by Mennonite authors, and records from early church leaders, such as Samuel (S. D.) Guengerich, Abner Yoder, Gideon A. Yoder and more recently Elmer Swartzendruber. There are many old country school records and church bulletins and records for the congregations belonging to the Iowa-Nebraska Conference.


The society publishes a quarterly newsletter called **Reflections**. Its purposes are to preserve stories and information of the past and to



Samuel (S. D.) Guengerich (1836-1929), Amish Mennonite teacher, writer, printer, and historian. Although not an ordained minister, he traveled widely and wrote extensively, including his "Brief History of the Amish Settlement in Johnson County, Iowa." Photo (ca. 1920-21): Archives of the Mennonite Church, S. D. Guengerich Collection

stimulate interest in community history.

Several projects have been completed recently. Lester J. Miller, president of the Society, completed an obituary file, recording approximately 4,500 deaths. Grace Tiessen received a state grant to complete a study of Grandpa Houses in the area. Recently another grant contract had been signed to assist in reprinting the cemetery directory which Mary Gingerich compiled in 1972 and to print an update to that book.

The Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa's symbol shows grain, depicting the staff of life grown by our ancestors, as well as present-day Mennonites. A plow suggests the work which our ancestors accomplished. Finally a cross reflects the center of the lives of Christians who over the years have faithfully endeavored to serve Christ. This symbol continues to represent the purpose for which the Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa stands. 

Lois Gugel is archivist for the Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa.

Mostly Canada: The Current State of Mennonite Fiction Writing

By Ervin Beck

The publication of these four books in 1991 offers an opportunity to assess the current state of "Mennonite" fiction. In brief, they show continued stagnation in U.S. Mennonite writing but innovative achievement in Canadian Mennonite circles.

Like *Rosanna of the Amish* (1940), its prototype, *Daniel* was written by an Amish person turned Mennonite. It interprets Amish experience to outsiders as it also offers moral and spiritual instruction.

Daniel Weaver of the Ohio Old Order Amish is a Job-like hero who endures the disappearance of his wife, farming failures, an unfair court trial, and shunning by his church, but without giving up hope or faith in his God and people. This overall message of steadfastness is reinforced by moral teachings at the end of almost every chapter.

To be sure, Borntrager does not idealize Amish life. *Daniel's* Amish community is prone to the sins of gossiping, rejecting persons not born Amish, believing the worst of people, and too hastily excommunicating members. Borntrager shows no solutions for these problems; *Daniel* gains relief only by moving to an Amish district that is less judgmental.

Although the book is well intentioned, its messages suffer because the pseudo-realistic fiction is unconvincing. For instance: Why would an Amishman neglect to report the baffling disappearance of his wife to the civil authorities? How can *Daniel* be tried in court for guilt in a traffic accident if no formal charges have been filed and no policeman has investigated the accident? Isn't it too good to be true that the trial is aborted when the villain's erstwhile friend surprisingly testifies against him?

There are 50,000 copies in print of *Daniel*, the fourth in the "Ellie's People" series by Borntrager. Considering the size of the typical Amish extended family, the series could continue forever.

Although one respects the audience that supports these popular books, and understands why Herald Press

publishes them, one might also ask why the typical novel published by Herald Press is inferior in quality to its other publications—in theology, history and social problems, for instance.

Good Books, which takes more artistic risks than does Herald Press, has now published a second novel by Sara Stambaugh, whose *I Hear the Reaper's Song* (1984), was well received by both Mennonite and non-Mennonite readers and critics.

As in *Daniel*, a main issue is Mennonites' reluctance to seek redress through the legal system. Like *Daniel*, Gideon Landis—victim of a land swindle, prosecuted for debt by a stonemason, indebted to his church—remains passive in tribulation. Like *Daniel*, he is also saved by a *deus ex machina*—in this case, the timely appearance of a rightful heir who foils Squire Carpenter's scheme.

The Sign of the Fox, a historical novel, set in 1828, has a sophisticated structure. The events in the Lancaster County microcosm mirror those in the national setting. Andrew Jackson has just assumed the presidency, bringing popular democracy to a nation that had hitherto been led by eastern aristocrats.

So, too, liberation comes to the Landis family (who regain their land) and to Jim and his fellow slave (who escape to Canada). The poor "common man" indeed wins over the Squire and his "Royal Family" upstairs (p. 179), just as Andrew Jackson did. And these liberating experiences occur during the Easter season, which gives a symbolic structure to the plot and a quasi-religious meaning to otherwise secular experiences.

The novel also contributes to current discussions of women's liberation. At the end of the story the main character, Catherine Landis, 18, must decide whether or not to raise the illegitimate daughter of Eleanor Carpenter, the Squire's daughter. Catherine makes her decision, not on the basis of Christian duty and charity toward the unwanted child, but on what is best for hapless Catherine,

Daniel. Mary Christner Borntrager. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1991. Pp. 160. \$5.95.

The Sign of the Fox. Sara Stambaugh. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books. 1991. Pp. 185. \$16.95

Mostly Country. Rosemary Nixon. Edmonton: NeWest Press. 1991. Pp. 117. \$10.95.

Murder in Gutenthal: A Schneppe Kjnals Mystery. Armin Wiebe. Winnipeg: Turnstone Press, 1991. \$13.95.

who has been victimized by three men—her domineering father, her homosexual husband from whom she is divorced, and politician Nick McMaster, the father of her child.

Significantly, Catherine first asks her father what she should do. He gives her the liberty to decide for herself. She then urges Eleanor, as an adult woman, to do the same. Consequently, Eleanor—her father recently defeated in other ways—decides to keep the baby.

Here oppressive patriarchy is found in the wealthy non-Mennonite aristocrats of Lancaster County. In contrast, both Catherine Landis's Mennonite father and her prospective Mennonite husband, Jake, are kind, sensitive men.

Despite its sophisticated structure and themes, *The Sign of the Fox* is less effective than Stambaugh's first novel because of its thinly drawn characters, sparse historical detail, a too passive central character, and a too obvious good guys vs. bad guys plot. The result is indeed a historical "romance" like *Ivanhoe* (p.54)—in which good triumphs over evil and the lady in distress is saved by a knight in shining armour—but the compelling interest and color one hopes for in historical fiction are lacking.

Rosemary Deckert Nixon's *Mostly Country* consists of twelve stories set in an (Old) Mennonite community in Saskatchewan populated with families named Yoder, Stoltzfus, Leichty, Freed, Horst and Cressman. Most of the stories, though, depict the interlocking experiences of the Mennonite Steckleys of Wadden and the non-Mennonite McClancys of nearby Nimoka.

Like *Daniel* and *The Sign of the Fox*, many of the Nixon stories show Mennonites and Mennonite values tested in conflicts with non-Mennonite people and culture. But Nixon also shows contradictions inherent within Mennonite communities. Unlike Borntrager and Stambaugh, who show Amish and Mennonite values being tested but preserved and renewed, Nixon more often depicts losses, compromises and unresolved tensions. Hers is a more complex, even tragic, view of Mennonite experience.

For instance, Kevin McClancy yearns to be accepted in the Mennonite community ("Mostly Country") and finally marries into it ("Cowboy Hat"), although knowing that he can never truly be "born again" into that closed community. Similarly, his wife Catherine Steckley is too inhibited to join in the McClancy family fun ("Queenie Wrestles"), although her daughter Becky warms up to her grandmother McClancy's style ("Husbanding")—ominously so in light of its self-destructive features ("Cowboy Hat").

The stories depict some stereotypical Mennonite traits—inability of parents to express love to their children ("Take, Eat"), closed-mindedness in patriarchs ("Taking Boardwalk"), demeaning puritan sexual morality ("Conjugation"), and a rage for justice and truth that becomes destructive in a third-world culture ("The Thief").

"Taking Boardwalk," perhaps the finest story in the collection, is also its most optimistic in regard to Mennonites successfully moving into the world out of a close rural Mennonite community. Clifford Steckley's PhD has educated him into doubt and existentialist despair, which he tries to pass on to his teenage sister, Rita. But once Rita grows up and understands what he means, she is able to integrate philosophy with her Mennonite faith, as proved by her singing hymns with "flawless alto" in her "imaginary pew" while brother Clifford sits silently, merely watching.

The well-written stories suggest that Nixon also has successfully integrated her faith with her art, even though her characters—questers all—may not yet have arrived at that state of grace.

Nixon's stories do not escape completely the didacticism found in much Mennonite fiction. For example,

"The Essence of Mushroom Broth" depicts a narrow-minded father-husband-preacher whose oppression his wife can resist only by running away from home. The final story in the collection, it introduces a harsh, jarring tone at a thematically climactic moment, thus undermining the more subtle effects of the stories that precede it. New didacticism is no better than old.

With this, her first published book, Nixon becomes the best (Old) Mennonite author writing about fictional experience in the (Old) Mennonite Church community. She deals with the real experiences of contemporary Mennonites, fully and with candor and affection.

The most unusual talent in Mennonite fiction-writing today belongs to Armin Wiebe, whose profoundly hilarious *The Salvation of Yasch Siemens* has cheered Canadian Mennonites since its publication in 1984. *Murder in Gutenthal* is the sequel Wiebe's fans have been waiting for.

Unlike *Yasch Siemens*, it is a full-fledged (detective) novel, rather than a set of related stories. And instead of *Yasch Siemens* (now a married farmer with children), it features Neil Bergen, a private eye ("We stoop to snoop") educated in sleuthing by a correspondence course. Like *Siemens*, he is a naive bachelor seeking his identity within a close rural Mennonite community.

Bergen quickly gets immersed in a baffling harum-scarum plot that, surely, only the author can keep straight. It starts with apparent drug-running between the Mennonite and Cree communities, carried out by means of cryptic messages planted in zippered Bibles. By the time all is straightened out, the plot also uncovers blackmail by a Mennonite who had fought for the Germans during World War II; the strangulation and cremation of a woman by a reclusive old bachelor; and the spiriting away of huge sums of money from Gutenthal to an AIDS relief program in Uganda by Barbara Ball Bearing (one of Bergen's sweethearts) and Shaftich Fleeda's daughter Freeda (*Siemens'* first love).

Wiebe's comic touch is as deft here as it was in *Yasch Siemens*, although the absence of Flat German-English syntax is a disappointment for readers expecting the same stylistic delights



Rosemary Nixon: "the best (Old) Mennonite author writing about fictional experience in the (Old) Mennonite Church community."

found in Wiebe's first book. Such is the price, apparently, of using a more acculturated hero.

Although farcical, rather than strictly speaking realistic, Wiebe's depiction of personalities and dynamics in a rural Russian Mennonite community is as keen and convincing as ever.

In making serious statements with his comic bent, Wiebe seems less successful here than in *Yasch Siemens*, which offers profound insights into Mennonite community, ethnicity, and, indeed, spiritual "salvation."

For although *Murder in Gutenthal* touches on important Canadian Mennonite topics such as relationships with Native Americans, migration to foreign countries, and sympathy with Germany during World War II, it "says" relatively little about them. Its most poignant commentary is on the stunted emotional lives that some adult men, such as A. Dyck, D. Dyck, and Bergen himself (like *Yasch Siemens* in the first book), live, by choice or necessity, in Mennonite communities.

I like Wiebe particularly because he has such a sharp sense of Mennonite folk culture and can depict it with measured satire and respect. It takes a great talent to convincingly convey traditional Anabaptist experience and

thought by comic means.

The book may be a bit too long for a parody (of detective fiction), too full of incident, and that incident too divorced from character, but it nevertheless represents literary genius that, we may hope, will produce more such delightful work.

The books by Stambaugh, Nixon and Wiebe, of course, are all part of the remarkable literary outpouring during the past 20 years among Mennonites of all kinds—but especially Mennonite Brethren—in central and western Canada. In fiction, this is represented most famously in the great work of Rudy Wiebe and, more recently, Sandra Birdsell. Except for Janet Kauffman's novel *Collaborators* (1986), U.S. Mennonites have no achievement in fiction to match.

Why such impressive literary achievement by Canadian Mennonites? Several possibilities present themselves:

1. A great oral tradition in story-telling, deriving from a folk culture obsessed with the Big Story of Mennonite experience in and migration out of troubled Russia. Mennonite writers may no longer be directly re-living the Russian experience, but they inherit that gift of story from the earlier generation.

2. A generation of educated writers who have recently become acculturated and educated in mainstream literature, but who retain a strong enough sense of cultural and personal distinctiveness to be compelled to write about it.

3. A government that has sponsored multiculturalism as a strategy for political unity. That means taxpayers' money invested in fellowships and publication subsidies for writers from ethnic communities.

4. Encouragement by individuals and publishers—such as Al Reimer of Winnipeg and Rudy Wiebe of Edmonton; and Turnstone Press, a regional publishing venture that offers a venue for many Mennonite writers in the Winnipeg area.

U. S. Mennonite writers have fewer such motivations and encouragements.



Ervin Beck teaches English literature and does folkloric studies at Goshen College.



Gerald R. Brunk presented Irvin B. Horst a copy of *Menno Simons: A Reappraisal* as a Festschrift in his honor January 16, 1992, at Eastern Mennonite College. The college's Menno Simons Historical Library renamed its Special Collections Room after Horst, placing a plaque in his honor. Brunk is a professor of history at Eastern Mennonite College, and Horst held the Menno Simons Chair at the University of Amsterdam for two decades until his retirement in 1987. Photo: Eastern Mennonite College, Jim Bishop



Book Reviews

Menno Simons: A Reappraisal, Gerald R. Brunk, editor: Harrisonburg, VA: Eastern Mennonite College. 1992. Pp. 215. \$19.95.

On March 23-24, 1990, Eastern Mennonite College and Seminary convened a conference on Menno Simons. Here are the papers which were presented by seven American and European scholars plus two additional chapters. Irvin B. Horst, scholar and teacher, received the book as a Festschrift, and it includes a bibliography of his writings and an index.

Chapter eight, "The Meaning of Menno Simons Today" by Irvin Horst, relates to our lives. Horst notes that Menno's writings played a significant role in Mennonite life in America until the latter part of the nineteenth century. During the Mennonite "Great Awakening" Menno was eclipsed, and a great deal of borrowing took place from conservative Protestantism. In the 1950's, "When Mennonites started to recover from their fundamentalist affairs, the appeal of Menno as well as van Bragt revived..." (p. 168). Horst suggests three areas where Menno can help contemporary Mennonites enter into dialogue with fellow Christians.

Discipleship is a call to repentance

followed by obedience to Christ and a willingness to accept the cross in contrast to "religious expressions that stress piety rather than ethical demands" (p. 172).

Compassion moved Menno to forsake the easy life and espouse, "the Anabaptist cause, sharing in their suffering, poverty and danger of life" (p. 174). Horst suggests: "Maybe our greatest problem is to recognize the need around us not as an object of mercy, but as a subject of identification" (p. 175).

The Church exists as a body where we learn to walk in discipleship. "The truth is to be tested in actual Christian living" (p. 177). This is a substantial work. Persons interested in the life and work of Menno Simons will want to become acquainted with it.

David Groh, Kalona, Iowa

Peace Theology and Violence Against Women. Occasional papers no. 16. Edited by Elizabeth G. Yoder. Elkhart, Ind.: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1992. Pp. 124. \$10.00.

This set of five essays and responses by theologians, counselors, and health care professionals presents justifications for a peace-based theology that encompasses issues relating to violence against women.

The authors call for a paradigm shift in the way Mennonites think about peace. Their reasons are compelling.

In the United States every 18 minutes, a woman is beaten; every 6 minutes, a woman is raped. Gayle Gerber Koontz states, "Ordinary lethal violence against women is more frequent than violent incidents in Ireland, yet it is not clearly engaged in our peace agenda."

As citizens of North American countries, Ruth Krall insists that Mennonites are part of this larger "rape-prone culture." The study by Isaac Block found that slightly under 20 percent of the Mennonite female population in Winnipeg had experienced some form of sexual abuse. Moreover, the majority of perpetrators were known individuals such as family members or friends. Being Mennonite and having Mennonite friends does not immunize women against violence.

Krall notes that many theological traditions are steeped in patriarchal and hierarchical concepts of God and humanity. For example, God is referred to as a King and Father. Mennonite theology, a part of this context, is limited to ideals of nonresistance and submission and does not help women who face violent individuals in their own homes.

Mennonite theology, according to Carol Penner, encourages a culture of silent "redemptive" suffering, both in academic works, such as *The Politics of Jesus* by John H. Yoder, and popular media, such as hymns and pamphlets. In the context of violence against women redemptive suffering becomes problematic because spouses of abusers often suffer in silence.

Nothing short of a revolutionary paradigm shift will overcome patriarchal-based theology. Mary H. Schertz's essay is a start by redefining shalom theology—using the biblical concepts of creation, covenant, community, cult, cross, and consummation—to include relations between men and women.

These women theologians have set before themselves a massive task. However judging from the writing and analysis presented in this small volume, they are quite capable of provoking the revolution they seek.

Kimberly Schmidt, Arlington, Virginia

Footprints of Compassion: The Story of MCC-B.C., 1964-1989. Edited by Helen Grace Leshcheid. Clearbrook, B.C.: Mennonite Central Committee - British Columbia, 1989. Pp. 172.

The history, people, and programs of MCC-British Columbia are covered in this eighteen-chapter book. Some of the chapters cover programs familiar to many Mennonites (relief sales, SELFHELP Crafts, material aid); others describe projects that may only be known to Mennonites in British Columbia. These programs include furniture and appliance stores which receive volunteer repair help from retired persons, housing for low income people, a ministry to single parent families, and yearly children's festivals which introduce children to MCC.

Although the book is organizationally arranged by programs, it is, as the editor notes in the preface, "essentially a book about people, not programs." It reads quickly because the chapters are short, contain pictures, and move from story to story. At times one wishes to hear more about certain programs or people, but the scope of the book is to introduce MCC-British Columbia, and give an overview of its people, programs, and history. The book does this very well.

Dana Neff, North Newton, Kansas

CPS Smokejumpers: 1943-1946. Edited by Roy E. Wenger. Volume I (1990, Pp. 147), Volume II (1991, Pp. not numbered). Privately published by Roy E. Wenger, 333 North Avenue West, Missoula, MT 59801.

These two volumes, **CPS Smokejumpers: 1943-1946**, focus upon the life stories of a select group of men who served in Civilian Public Service Camps as conscientious objectors during World War II. Each story includes a brief description of the person's childhood, thoughts about smokejumping, and reflections about their subsequent adult life.

The main work of smokejumpers, in coordination with the U.S. Forest Service, was fighting forest fires. This work took men of certain personality characteristics—intelligence, self-confidence, and skill in interpersonal relationships. In these stories it is

interesting to see these characteristics at work throughout the men's lives.

CPS Smokejumpers: 1943-1946 is a worthwhile record of memoirs and convictions of a group of men who chose to be conscientious objectors in the context of a popular war. Their reflections remind us of the courage and thoughtfulness needed by such people.

Dwight E. Roth, Hesston, Kansas 

News and Notes

The Challenge of Nationalism and the Canadian Mennonites is the theme of a conference in Winnipeg, May 6-8, 1993. Topics and speakers include: "Theological Perspectives on Nationalism," A. James Reimer (Conrad Grebel College) and "Nationalism in the Russian Mennonite Experience," James Urry (New Zealand). Other speakers include Adolf Ens (Canadian Mennonite Bible College), Helmut Harry Loewen (Manitoba Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid), Rodney Sawatsky (Conrad Grebel College), John Redekop (Wilfrid Laurier University), and John Thiessen (Bethel College). For information or registration, contact the Mennonite Heritage Centre, 600 Shaftesbury Blvd., Winnipeg, MB, R3P 0M4 (204 888-6781).

Phyllis Y. Coulter has donated three books, two of which are parts of the Bible translated into Chinese languages, to the Menno Simons Historical Library at Eastern Mennonite College. The books were translated or written by ancestors of Coulter who is currently associate professor of education at Eastern Mennonite College.

Pamela Klassen was the 1992 recipient of The Graduate Gold Medal for Master of Arts at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo. She received the award for her thesis "Going by the Moon and the Stars: Stories of Two Russian Mennonite Women." Klassen is now studying at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey, where she is writing a dissertation on ritual in Canadian Mennonite women's lives.

Glenn Lehman has formed an organization to do Mennonite art and

worship projects. Harmonies Workshop (34 West Eby Road, Leola, PA 17540) has completed a Bible reading recording and is developing "a spiritual heritage project" based on the Lancaster Conference's 1804 **Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch**. Lehman is conductor of the Table Singers, a Lancaster group which records historic Mennonite hymns.

Lawrence Klippenstein, archivist of the Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg, has taken a year's leave of absence to initiate the establishment of a new Mennonite Central Committee Office in Moscow, Russia.

Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania had a special meeting October 10 and 11 with Native American people as a part of the 1492 commemoration. Entitled "Revisiting Holy Ground: Sharing Memories and Friendship with the Delaware of Oklahoma," the weekend featured guests Dee and Annette Ketchum of Oklahoma.

Hildi Froese Tiessen, vice-president academic of Conrad Grebel College (Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, ON, N2L 3G6), would like to correspond with descendants of Ephraim Weber, author and correspondent with Lucy Maud Montgomery.

Civilian Public Service Camps (numbers 20 and 40) at Sideling Hill and Howard, Pa., held a reunion at Laurelville Mennonite Church Center October 9-11, 1992. Group spokesperson, H. Ralph Hernley, issued a call for "a strong family and congregational peace education

program and witness" and continuing "government recognition for conscientious objectors."

Marlene Epp (114 Pheasant Avenue, Cambridge, ON N3H 2L8) is researching the migration experience of Mennonite women from Russia post-WWII for her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Toronto. The working title of her dissertation is "Women Without Men: Mennonite Immigrants to Canada 1945-60." Women open to sharing their stories should contact her.

James Adrian Prieto, a Mennonite church historian at Latin American Biblical Seminary in Costa Rica, has completed his doctoral dissertation "*Die mennonitische Mission in Costa Rica, 1960-1978*." His quest was to find out why a church with centuries of tradition in service, peace, and simplicity "should have been transformed, here in Costa Rica in the decades of the 70s and 80s, into a typical Pentacostal-style denomination that had virtually forgotten its roots."

World War II-era personal letters, diaries and memorabilia are being solicited by the Mennonite Archives of Ontario (Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, ON, N2L 3G6). An effort is being made to gather material relating to Alternative Service Camps and Mennonite Central Committee relief work. Copies of the **Women's Activities Letter** published by Mennonite Central Committee, Canadian Headquarters, would also be appreciated.

E. Morris Sider has been appointed general editor of a forthcoming

Brethren in Christ Encyclopedia. It is anticipated that the encyclopedia will be in one volume of some 600 pages. The encyclopedia will contain such subject areas as people, institutions, events and historic sites. A history of each congregation, past and present, will be included. Projected publication date is 1997. Readers willing to write one or more articles should contact Sider at Messiah College, Grantham, PA 17027

Levi Miller, director of the Historical Committee and Archives of the Mennonite Church, will speak on 1693 and Amish Mennonite Symbiosis at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society's annual meeting, April 17, and at the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, June 12.

Tryntje Miller, library clerk at Conrad Grebel College (Waterloo, ON, N2L 3G6), is researching Mennonite cookbooks for the valuable historical and cultural information they contain. She would like to examine manuscript cookbooks from any era, in private or public hands and can be contacted at the above address.

Margaret Shetler, Pacific Coast Conference historian, is writing the history of Zion Mennonite Church for its anniversary (1893-1993). Zion is the second oldest Mennonite congregation in Oregon.

1993 John Horsch Mennonite History Essay Contest. Deadline for entries of paper is June 15, 1993. Send papers to **Levi Miller**, Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526.



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Margaret Elizabeth Brown Kanagy: An Exemplary Life of Christian Service

By Lorraine Roth



From 1914 to 1915, Margaret Elizabeth Brown served as superintendent of the Toronto Mennonite Mission. She was a single woman worker at the mission when the superintendent resigned. Her gifts of leadership were recognized, and she was asked to be "in charge." After her marriage to Simon M. Kanagy, she continued to be an active partner in their mission and pastoral assignments.

Margaret Elizabeth Brown was born to David and Anna (Reesor) Brown on August 13, 1883, in Markham Township. David Brown was not Mennonite and did not become a member of the Mennonite Church until 1914. Anna Reesor, however, was from a Mennonite family, and, no doubt, she maintained the Mennonite connection throughout Margaret Elizabeth Brown's growing up years.

Elizabeth (the name by which she was known) attended Toronto Bible Training School (later called Toronto Bible College and now known as Ontario Bible College). By the Fall of 1909 she was boarding at the Mennonite Mission, then located on King Street East, and helping in the Sunday school and in the sewing school. In the spring of 1910 she began serving full time.

In 1914 the superintendent of the Mission resigned, and Elizabeth Brown was asked by the local board¹ to be "in charge" until a superintendent could be secured. The board did not, at that point, give her the title superintendent, but the term was used

Margaret Elizabeth Brown Kanagy (1883-1952): Ontario Mennonite leader in Toronto, Chicago and Wanner.

in subsequent records. Ordained ministers from the country were to fill the preaching appointments on Sundays. Under Elizabeth Brown's organizational abilities and interpersonal skills the work prospered.

Also in 1914, Simon Menno Kanagy put in an appearance at the Toronto Mission. S. M. Kanagy (as he came to be known) was from Pennsylvania, had studied in Indiana and Illinois, and had taught high school in various states. He began teaching some music courses at the Toronto Bible College, but made the Toronto Mission his home. In the Fall of 1914 "Bro. Kanagy" was asked to do the pastoral work.

On January 20, 1915, Elizabeth Brown handed in her resignation, but was prevailed upon to complete her term. In April the board nominated S. M. Kanagy for superintendent of the Toronto Mission. In June of 1916, Kanagy was recommended for ordination, and later the same month Elizabeth and S. M. were married. As wife of the superintendent, Elizabeth continued to be an integral part of the leadership at the Toronto Mission.

In 1920 S. M. Kanagy received an urgent call from Hesston College and Bible School in Kansas to join their faculty. Samuel taught music and Elizabeth was matron in the dormitory. She used this opportunity to continue her education and graduated from the academy. They were in Hesston, however, for only three years and then returned to city mission work — this time in Chicago.

This assignment was very much to their liking. Elizabeth had the opportunity to develop program and relationships. She was especially remembered for her work with the girls club. In 1926 the Kanagys directed the first daily vacation Bible school at the Home Mission. They operated the school for four weeks with an enrollment of 146 pupils. S. M. studied at Bethany Seminary, graduating in 1925. He was also ordained bishop that year.

Elizabeth suffered from lung problems and did not recover well from a severe bout with pneumonia. The doctor advised them to leave the city with its black smoke and locate somewhere in the country. At this point, the Kanagys wrote to a longtime

acquaintance, Absalom B. Snyder, to inquire about any opportunities in rural Ontario.

A. B. Snyder had been urging his congregation (Wanner) to find another preacher. The Kanagys' search for a rural assignment meshed perfectly with the Wanner congregation's need for a new pastor, and a call was extended and accepted. During the summer of 1932 the Kanagys lived in a cottage by the lake near Rainham and S. M. commuted to Wanner. In the Fall they moved to Blair.

S. M. preached, pastored and led singing schools. Elizabeth became a teacher and mentor for the girls and women of the congregation and the community. The Kanagys had no children of their own, but Elizabeth developed children's programs and girls clubs wherever she went.

In 1933 S. M. and Elizabeth directed the first Vacation Bible School at Wanner. They solicited help of teachers from both local and outside sources, many of whom had either training or experience in teaching. A great deal of resourcefulness was needed to prepare the small brick meetinghouse (without a basement) and the closed-in horse shed for the 261 children who were enrolled that July.

A number of Mennonite girls, working as domestic servants in Preston and Galt homes, were unable to attend church regularly. About 1936, they began meeting every two weeks for fellowship and inspiration, bringing their handwork with them. Eventually they called themselves the "Fidelia Club." Recognizing Elizabeth Brown Kanagy's ability to inspire and motivate, they invited her to lead their devotionals. Edna Bowman described her as follows:

"We have had many Marthas who could see and meet practical needs such as garments, quilts, housekeeping assistance or home nursing, but fewer women such as Elizabeth, whose gracious personality, warmth of character and wealth of experience were such a source of strength to others. She saw the need to provide spiritual food for her girls. She also was able to motivate them to render quality of service, a basic ingredient in their Christian witness."²

Mennonite congregations during

the Kanagy's period of service did not have a salaried ministry, and ministers were expected to earn their own living. The Kanagys, however, had no other source of income. With resourcefulness and frugality they were able to live on the congregation's generous donations of food, love offerings, and reduced rent.

After S. M.'s death in 1941, the Wanner Church continued to support Elizabeth. She was a resident at Braeside Home, Preston (now Cambridge), when she was called to her eternal home in 1952. Elizabeth Brown Kanagy is fondly remembered for her exemplary and inspirational life. *✠*

Lorraine Roth of Waterloo, Ontario, is a historian and genealogist, specializing on the Amish Mennonites of Ontario. This essay is excerpted with permission from Roth's new book **Willing Service: Stories of Ontario Mennonite Women** (1992). The book is available from Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, ON N2L 3G6 (\$18.00) and from the Goshen Provident Bookstore, 119 E. Lincoln Ave., Goshen, IN 46526 (\$17.00).

¹ For many years the Toronto Mission was under Mennonite Board of Missions, with headquarters in Indiana. A local board took care of the routine operation of the Mission and recommended workers, with Mennonite Board of Missions making the formal appointments.

² Edna Hunsperger Bowman, "We remember Elizabeth Brown Kanagy," in the W.M.S.C. 1983 Publication Project. Other sources for this essay include: Ken Bechtel, "To the Extension of the Kingdom," *The Kanagy Decade: 1932-1941*, **Strangers within the Gates** (Kitchener, Ont.: Wanner Mennonite Church, 1987); Emma Oyer, **What God Hath Wrought in a Half Century at the Mennonite Home Mission** (Elkhart, Ind.: Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, 1949); Interviews with Paul and Eva (Reesor) Burkholder and Muriel (Handy) Purdon.

Shaping Our Identity: The New Generation of Mennonite Historians



Edsel Burdge

By Angela Showalter

Writing history involves a continual process of researching and evaluating new information, as well as re-evaluating what has already been written. As stories and new methods of interpreting them emerge, our history as Mennonites becomes more complete and useful as an indicator of where we have been and in what directions we seem to be moving.

Thus, it is important that new historians continue the work of exploring and interpreting our past. Fortunately, many Mennonite historians of a younger generation are

actively filling in the gaps and shedding new light on our collective stories.

Although by no means an exhaustive list, this article presents a survey of this new generation of historians and indicates some areas we can expect to see explored in the future. Some of these areas may include history's so-called "under-side," or the history of women and minority groups; Mennonite economic history which asks difficult questions about the past and the present; and Mennonite social history which explores relationships both within the church and in the context of the broader society.

Edsel Burdge of the Mennonite Historical Association of the Cumberland Valley received his B.A. in history at Eastern Mennonite College in 1981, and his M.A. (also in history) from Villanova University in 1987. He is currently working on an article regarding Mennonite-Quaker relations in the nineteenth century, as well as an article and chart showing various Mennonite groups in the Franklin county, Pennsylvania and Washington county, Maryland areas.

In addition, Burdge has begun exploring the Mennonite-German Baptist debate on baptism in the nineteenth century. Burdge teaches history, literature, and Bible on the high school level at Anchor Christian School near Pinola, Pennsylvania.

Marlene Epp is currently working on her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Toronto. The subject of her dissertation deals with the role of



Marlene Epp

women in the post-World War II Mennonite immigrations to Canada and Paraguay, particularly focusing on gender roles and the many families headed by women in that movement.

Epp has published several articles dealing with writing Mennonite women's history. She has expressed interest in doing further study in related areas such as distinct dress, health, and midwifery issues among Mennonites. Epp received her B.A. from the University of Manitoba and her M.A. from the University of Waterloo.

Reg Good's main area of interest and study has centered on Native/

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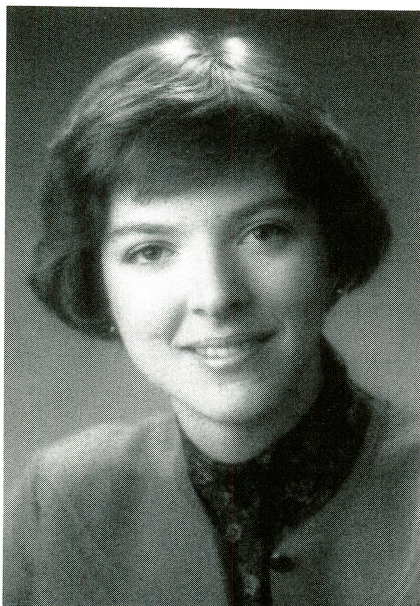
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Reg Good. Photo: Betti Erb

non-Native relations in North America, as well as the history of the Mennonites in Canada. Good intends to pursue several areas of study in the future, including the relations between Mennonites from Canada and the United States, the history of the Old Order Mennonite church during the twentieth-century, the historiography of North American Mennonites, and historical theology.

Good received both his B.A. and his



Rachel Waltner Goossen

M.A. at the University of Waterloo, and is currently a candidate for a Ph.D. in Canadian history at the University of Saskatchewan. He is also presently employed as the associate archivist for the Mennonite Archives of Ontario, located at Conrad Grebel College in Waterloo.

After earning her B.A. from Bethel College in 1982, Rachel Waltner Goossen went on to earn an M.A. from the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1984. She is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Kansas. Her dissertation focuses on "Conscientious Objection and Gender: Women and Civilian Public Service During the Second World War."

Goossen plans to continue working on this subject for quite some time. However, some subjects she expressed interest in pursuing in the future include American women and World War II, the history of women and professionalization in twentieth-century America, the history of peace education, and the history of Mennonite childrearing (17th century to the present).

Steve Nolt works as a research associate for the project on micro-enterprise models of rural business development with the Center for Rural Pennsylvania in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Goshen College in 1990 with a B.A. in History, and is pursuing an M.A. in church history from the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries in Elkhart, Indiana. In 1992, he published his first book entitled, **A History of the Amish**, (Good Books, Intercourse, Pa.)

Nolt is independently researching the issue of nonconformity among North American Mennonites, specifically tracing its changes throughout history as compared to the changes in North American society at large. Due in part to his research in this area, Nolt expressed interest in pursuing further study in the Mennonite community movement of the 1940s and 1950s. Nolt plans to pursue a Ph.D. in church history sometime in the future.

Peter H. Rempel is currently working as the acting archivist at the Mennonite Heritage Center in Winnipeg, Manitoba. He is also working on his M.A. thesis which deals with the German policy on the protection of the rights of German

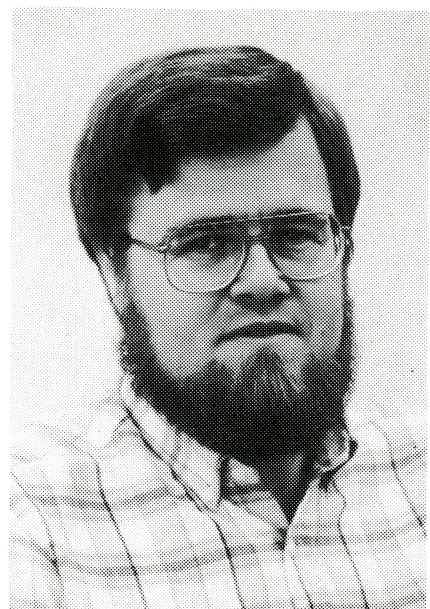


Steve Nolt

minorities in Eastern Europe from 1918 to 1922.

Rempel plans to continue studying the subject of Germany's policy and intervention for Mennonites in Russia between 1870 and 1945.

For her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Mary Sprunger has been studying the Dutch Mennonites of the seventeenth century. She has focused on the relationship between economics



Peter H. Rempel

and theology among the Amsterdam Waterlander group during the Golden Age.

Although she plans to finish her dissertation in 1993, Sprunger intends to continue studying this region and period of Mennonite history, focusing particularly on issues of economic disparity and social status within the church and the broader society. She also expressed interest in extending her study to include more Dutch Mennonite groups and a wider geographical area.

Sprunger is presently employed as an assistant professor of history at Eastern Mennonite College.

Nate Yoder is also living in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, where he serves as the interim pastor for Dayton Mennonite Church. In addition, Yoder is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Notre Dame.

Yoder's area of historical interest lies primarily in the relationship between the Mennonite Church and

the Protestant fundamentalist movement. He has also expressed interest in pursuing the history of Mennonite higher education, as well as revivalism and the Mennonite church.

Hope Nisly has recently finished her M.A. in history and a M.L.S. at the University of Maryland at College Park. She has written two significant articles which have appeared in non-Mennonite-affiliated publications. The first, entitled "Witness to a Way of Peace: The Vietnam War and Mennonite View of their Relationship to the State," appeared in **Maryland Historian** in January, 1990. The second, "A Mennonite Woman in Thanksgiving Town: The Employment of Edith Swartzendruber, 1935-1941," was published in **Labor's Heritage** in the Winter of 1991. 



Angela Showalter of Harrisonburg, Virginia, studies history at Goshen College and works part-time at the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

Mary Sprunger. Photo: Jim Bishop

Tradition and Transition: An Amish Mennonite Heritage of Obedience, 1693-1993

A conference on the "lost history" of the Mennonites

October 14-16, 1993

Mennonite Heritage Center, Metamora, Illinois

Addresses

Common origins of Mennonites and Amish prior to 1693 by John D. Roth

The Mennonite response to 1693 by Leonard Gross

The Essingen conferences and the cultural context of Illinois and related Amish Mennonites by Neil Ann Stuckey Levine

Mergers and continuing Amish influence among the Mennonites by Theron F. Schlabach

Dramatic presentations

"1693" by Steven M. Nolt

"Joseph Joder" by Jeff Gundy

Simulation

The 1865 Amish Mennonite ministers conference by Steven Reschly

Panel

Montbéliard: cradle of immigration by Joe Springer

Johannes Purchaser and the first church controversy among the Amish in America by Delbert L. Gratz

The Amish in Ontario by Lorraine Roth

Swiss Volhynian Amish by Jerold A. Stahly

Amish heritage tour

Saturday morning with Steven R. Estes

Recognition dinner

Willard H. Smith, Goshen, Indiana
Hermann and Gertrud Guth, Germany

Paton Yoder, Goshen, Indiana

Registration

Deadline to register is October 1, 1993

Registration forms available from Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society, Box 819, Metamora, IL 61548

For information call Steven R. Estes (home) 309 747 2878 or (office) 309 747 2702.

Beginning and ending

Begins Thursday, October 14, with registration from 2:00-4:00 p.m.

Ends Saturday, October 16, at 4 p.m.

Sponsors

Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church

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Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society

God in the Systematic Christology of C. Norman Kraus

By Erv Schlabbach

The two books on Christology of C. Norman Kraus have made a significant contribution to contemporary theology. The first volume, **Jesus Christ Our Lord**, created considerable controversy within the Mennonite church. It is interesting to note that Kraus and his major critic, George R. Brunk II, came from the same congregation in the vicinity of Newport News, Virginia. Kraus was nurtured under the conservative, fundamentalistic ministry of George R. Brunk I, and was baptized by him. While George II has continued to uphold many of the principles learned from that background, Kraus has explicitly rejected the fundamentalism of his youth.

The first volume of Kraus precipitated vigorous theological dialogue. A consultation on Christology was held at the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries in Elkhart, Indiana, on October 8, 1988, with the papers from it published as: **A Disciple's Christology: Appraisals of Kraus's Jesus Christ Our Lord**. In response to the discussion, Kraus made a few minor changes in a revised edition of his first book. They were merely clarifications on several points.

Strangely, the most recent book, **God Our Savior**, has been almost totally ignored. Perhaps part of the problem has been the sheer volume of Kraus's work. It is far too detailed and technical for the average person within the church. His theology is the fruition of many years of teaching at a Mennonite college; it was only refined in Japan.

The creeds adopted at Nicea and Chalcedon have been highly influential in the interpretation of New Testament texts on Christology. A dichotomy between the divine and human natures of Christ is basic to such a position. Norman Kraus does not begin with such assumptions. He concentrates first of all upon the apostolic witness. He attempts to read the New Testament texts on their own

merit. His primary concern is to discover how the early disciple community would have seen and understood Jesus, which is the reason for the title of his first book. A Christology should be written from the vantage point of the first disciples, not from the creeds. Kraus does not reject the creeds. He simply does not consider them authoritative. His emphasis upon the primacy of the New Testament is certainly in order.

Within the church a one-sided interest in the divinity of Christ has frequently undermined the ethical dimensions of the gospel. A theology of discipleship must be based upon the full humanity of Jesus. That was true among the sixteenth-century Anabaptists. It is also one reason why Kraus stresses the humanity of Jesus.

Even though we know very little about the life of Jesus in Nazareth before his public ministry, Kraus could have considerably expanded his section on the humanity of Jesus by pursuing the implications of Jesus spending most of his life as a village carpenter. He might have asked what carpenters were known to do in New Testament times, and what difference that may have made in how his family, friends, and neighbors understood (or misunderstood) his mission. Most theologians do not ask that kind of question, but it is an obvious aspect of the incarnation, one of the most basic observations about the humanity of Jesus.

The Christology of Kraus is a "kingdom theology." Jesus was a king. He announced that the kingdom was at hand and invited persons to submit to the reign of God. He taught his disciples the politics of the kingdom of God. Jesus was not the kind of king envisioned by the Zealots. He did not condone the use of violence against the Roman oppressors. For Kraus the affirmation of Jesus as king is an expression of the Anabaptist teaching on the lordship of Christ.

According to Kraus, Jesus was the prototype of humanity. He has manifested what we are intended to be. He was the pioneer or our faith, the

A Disciple's Christology: Appraisals of Kraus's Jesus Christ our Lord. Edited by Richard A. Kauffman. Elkhart: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1989. Pp. 111. \$7.00.

Jesus Christ Our Lord: Christology from a Disciple's Perspective. C. Norman Kraus. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1990, Pp. 264, \$19.95.

God Our Savior: Theology in a Christological Mode. C. Norman Kraus. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1991, Pp. 264. \$19.95.

one who has shown us what a life of total dependence upon God can be. In him we see the true image of God. Kraus speaks of salvation as the renewal of the image of God within humanity. It is the restoration of our covenant with God.

The ministry of Jesus was characterized by self-giving love. The law of love is at the heart of Kraus's Christology. Love is the key to understanding the nature of God. Jesus was God's full expression of love, through his life, ministry, and death. Because God's love has no boundaries, Jesus sought out those who were despised by the religious structures of his time. Referring to John 3:17, Kraus notes that Jesus did not come to judge the world, but to save it.

With logical consistency and obvious conviction Kraus develops an Anabaptist theology of the cross. Jesus identified with the suffering servant of Isaiah 53. That motif became central. He deliberately chose the way of sacrificial love, a direction which ultimately led to his death. In the face of opposition and hostility, Jesus spoke words of divine forgiveness. In so doing he exemplified God's response to human evil. God seeks to transform his wayward children by showing them his love, even when they reject him. That is the meaning behind the



C. Norman Kraus' first Christology volume brought controversy; the second volume was ignored. Did Kraus discover a twentieth-century pacifist God, or did he discover the God of the Bible?

death of Christ.

Within the Messianic community this sacrificial, suffering servant style of Jesus becomes the basis for the life and mission of the people of God. Through the incarnation God has manifested his solidarity with us in our humanness and in our sinfulness. Similarly, through our solidarity with Christ, the mission of the disciples can be no different from that of Jesus himself. The calling of the Christian community is to carry forward the work Jesus began.

Kraus is simply affirming what Conrad Grebel expressed in his 1524 letter to Thomas Müntzer, "Christ must suffer still more in his members" (Leland Harder, ed., **The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism: The Grebel Letters and Related Documents**, Herald Press, 1985, p. 293). The model for the church is "defenseless and revengeless Christianity" as featured in the traditional Mennonite confession of faith which originated at Dordrecht in 1632.

The theology of Norman Kraus is intentionally missionary. Some of the issues most thoroughly discussed are set against the background of his teaching experience in Japan. His Christology is an attempt to contextualize the message of the New

Testament in a non-Western setting. In his treatment of the atonement, he seeks to move away from the Western preoccupation with the legal terminology of guilt and punishment. Instead he pursues the personal dimension, seeing God as a loving parent.

Kraus was influenced in his thinking by his encounter with a shame-oriented society. His discussion of the atonement using biblical categories of guilt and shame is enlightening and helpful, but it is probably not as original as he seems to think. Even though they may not have been integrally incorporated into traditional theories of the atonement, the themes of humiliation and shame associated with the crucifixion of Jesus have always been considered central to the story.

Kraus's deliberate refusal to interpret the death of Christ by using the Old Testament concept of sacrifice may help him to contextualize the message in a culture where the ancient practice of animal sacrifice sounds strange and foreign (even as it does in our own culture). Yet in so doing, he eclipses important elements of the New Testament witness, truncating his own position. Much more can be said biblically about the death of Christ than the modified version of the moral influence theory espoused by Kraus.

Kraus introduces his Christology as "a peace theology in the Anabaptist tradition." The Anabaptists who gathered at Schleithem in 1527 stated that, "the sword is an ordering of God outside the perfection of Christ" (John H. Yoder, trans. and ed., **The Legacy of Michael Sattler**, Herald Press, 1973, p. 39). At this point the Anabaptists saw a clear discontinuity between the two testaments.

Although the Anabaptists recognized the sword as part of "the order of Moses," they believed within the Christian church that order had been superseded by "the order of Christ." The church could discipline with the ban, but the sword had no place among the disciples of Jesus. Not all Anabaptists followed this Schleithem principle, but such a teaching on the sword did become an integral part of the continuing Anabaptist movement.

Norman Kraus begins with the Anabaptist conviction that the sword is outside the perfection of Christ. All



C. Norman Kraus in 1952. Nurtured in a conservative Mennonite congregation near Newport News, Virginia, Kraus "explicitly rejected the fundamentalism of his youth." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, John H. Mosemann Collection

violence is contrary to the nature of God as disclosed in Jesus. Kraus seeks to move beyond the Anabaptist teaching, to affirm a unity between the testaments on this issue. That is not an easy task.

No issue in the Bible is more difficult to interpret than the active participation of God in violence in the Old Testament. The subject goes much deeper than just a consideration of holy war; the problem is one of holy violence. In some Old Testament accounts violence is at the very center of the cult (e.g., the slaying of the firstborn in Egypt in Exodus 12:29; the setting apart of the Levites in Exodus 32:25-29; the destruction of Nadab and Abihu, and the sons of Aaron, in Leviticus 10:1-2; and the divine affirmation of the zeal of Phinehas in Numbers 25:6-13). A peace theology has to take this apparent incongruity seriously.

From the writings of Kraus, it is very clear that he believes God never was actively involved in violence, not even in the Old Testament. Violence, and by implication the sword, has never been an ordering of God. Moving away from the traditional Mennonite teaching on this issue

Anabaptists and Orthodox Christian Belief

By Walter Klaassen

Earlier interpreters of Anabaptism saw clearly what we today often miss, i.e., that sixteenth century Anabaptists on the whole accepted the ancient Christian symbols which identified orthodox Christian belief. Even the somewhat strange Christology of Dutch Anabaptism could be held without repudiating the Apostles' Creed. This adherence to the basic theological affirmations of the ancient church represents a truly massive dependence upon church tradition by Anabaptists, a confession of continuity with the past, and even if often unwillingly, a confession that they shared this tradition with their contemporaries.

The Apostles' Creed, especially, was often used by Anabaptists as a way of stating the basic faith when asked about their belief (Friedmann, 1967: 21-36). There are numerous examples, e.g., (Riedemann, 1951: 15-16) Leonhard Schiemer (Müller, 1938: 44-58), Menno Simons (Wenger, 1956: 487-498, 525, 703, 754, 761), and an anonymous Anabaptist confession (Hillerbrand, 1959: 40-50).

The evidence is overwhelming, and the basic Anabaptist orthodoxy (proper belief) should not be obscured by the highlighting of their orthopraxis (proper practice) which is the other part of their system. Their adherence to basic, orthodox church theology came not by default as is sometimes implied, but by deliberate documentation in that all the basic affirmations were massively biblically based.

That emphasis on traditional trinitarian theology with its expansion in the Apostles' Creed was not a matter of secondary importance. This transcendent reference was absolutely essential as the matrix out of which grew their dynamic Christology and the resulting view of discipleship as an integral part of the faith that justifies. Without trinitarian faith there would have been no Anabaptism. People like Menno Simons were sophisticated enough to know that the Apostles' Creed was not a New Testament document, and certainly not the Nicene Creed. *✠*

Walter Klaassen lives in Vernon, British Columbia. This excerpt is printed with permission from page 18 of **Anabaptist Mennonite Identities in Ferment**, edited by Leo Driedger and Leland Harder (Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1990).

creates difficulties for Kraus when he deals with the biblical themes of God's wrath, holy violence, and divine judgment. Sometimes love and wrath become almost indistinguishable for him.

Kraus proposes that divine judgment is always intrinsic, that is, it is built into the system. The covenant which God has established with his people is for their own good. Because God is love, his judgment is never

vindictive, punitive, or destructive. God does not punish or destroy the wicked. The wicked bring judgment upon themselves when they break the covenant. Jesus has shown us once and for all that God loves his enemies. He continues to love them even when they reject him.

Because of the revelation we now have through Jesus, we know with certainty that God has always been that way. God has not changed; only

our perception of God has been altered. Any contrary conceptions which we may have had must be corrected in the light of what Jesus has shown us about God. Kraus uses the term "repentance" to speak of this change. Such a reconceptualization of God is central to Kraus's Christology. He believes our view of the Old Testament God has been radically transformed because God has been with us in Jesus.

"Jesus himself called God his Father, and he taught us to approach this mysterious, invisible presence not simply in awe or fear but in trust as a wise, loving Parent. He showed us that the face which is too blindingly glorious to be seen is the face of holy love. And the mysterious presence which had been obscured by the smoke and thunder of Mt. Sinai is in fact a gracious presence which has seemed fearful only because of our misunderstanding and ignorance" (Kraus, **Jesus Christ Our Lord**, rev. ed., p. 111).

Norman Kraus is convinced that violence, vengeance, and the traditional concept of wrath are not consistent with the character of God. They never have been. Kraus may be right. In terms of logical consistency his presentation makes sense. His arguments provide a formidable foundation for a peace theology. Yet, Kraus is so convinced of the validity of his conclusions that at times he fails to deal adequately with New Testament texts which point in a different direction.

One of the major arguments which Mennonites have used to support a peace position has been the idea of "progressive revelation." In ancient times with primitive cultures God may have accomplished his purposes through violent means, but as the story has unfolded historically, there has been a movement away from violence. Divine revelation finally reached its high point in Christ. In him we see the fullness of God's nature. Especially because of the cross we now know that God's way is sacrificial suffering rather than coercive violence. As Christians we can never move backward from this progression. To do so would be to deny the significance of the cross of Christ.

Although the progressive revelation position is not without problems, it has played an important

role in Mennonite understandings of peace theology. Certainly from such a perspective Kraus would be justified in concluding, as he does, that we should not expect God to act in the future in a manner which is inconsistent with his self-disclosure which has come through Christ. However, in his Christology, Norman Kraus never acknowledges that God actively participated in violence in the Old Testament. Generally, he avoids this difficult topic, but whenever it does enter his discussions he insists on reinterpreting the biblical accounts.

Kraus at every point rejects what might be called a regression in revelation. Old Testament concepts cannot be brought into the new covenant without filtering them through the apex of revelation which we have received through Jesus, even if the New Testament writers themselves have not done so. On the basis of the prologue in the Gospel of John, Kraus projects the culmination of the divine revelation in Jesus all the way back to Creation. In that sense he moves away from the progressive revelation position. Kraus would no doubt agree with the "progressive realization" view of Raymund Schwager, that "progressively the Old Testament realizes the violence of God is the people's own violence ascribed to God" (Edmund Pries, "Violence and the Sacred Scapegoat," in Willard Swartley, ed., *Essays on War and Peace: Bible and Early Church*, Occasional Papers No. 9, Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1986, p. 59.)

Norman Kraus believes the whole Old Testament tradition must be reinterpreted in light of the Christ event. He sees such a process already taking place within the New Testament documents, but it was not completed. Whenever the Old Testament imagery of a vindictive and violent God who comes in judgment as a militant and destructive warrior appears within the New Testament, Kraus concludes that at points the apostolic writers merely incorporated the current apocalyptic language into their writings without themselves following to conclusion the radical new insights to which they have given witness in Christ.

Kraus recognizes that at times Jesus also used apocalyptic language in speaking of the time of the end. Thus, even in the light of what might be

construed as at least some evidence to the contrary, Kraus upholds the ideal of his vision of God. For example, he never seriously deals with the New Testament teaching on the fear of God. Such a concept just is not a part of his theology. There is no hint in Kraus's writings that in spite of his sincere Christological convictions, he realizes that his conclusions may perhaps not be fully warranted—that maybe there is a fundamental flaw in his hermeneutics. Had Kraus clearly acknowledged such a possibility, it may have undermined the logic of his position, but it would have greatly increased his credibility. The implicit assumption that the modern interpreter can see more clearly than the New Testament writers is most questionable.

The God of the Old Testament which at times presents a problem for Norman Kraus was the God of Jesus. Jesus appears to have had a much higher view of the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures than Kraus does. Kraus seems to have an agenda which Jesus did not have. Kraus's theology is based very heavily upon a modern, philosophical view of God. God is absolute, holy love, morally obligated because of his very nature to conform to all our highest contemporary social ideals. While many of those ideals may be noble and good, and many of them may even have been learned from and be consistent with the "Gestalt of Christ" which Kraus finds in the apostolic writings, the two should not be considered identical. When no clear distinction is made between God and our ideals, there will always be some things which do not fit the biblical story.

The focal point of the Christian consummation, in Kraus's theology, becomes the resurrection of Jesus rather than the final judgment, the present responsibility of the church rather than speculation about the future. The intention is to move away from the violent imagery of divine wrath and destruction which is so common in many descriptions of the last judgment, even within the New Testament itself. In contrast, Kraus emphasizes the implications of the power of God as expressed through the resurrection of Jesus for the restoration of human community, the establishment of a just social order, and ultimately for the restoration of all

things. Like the Anabaptists, Kraus places the faithfulness of the Christian church at the center of God's redemptive purposes.

For Kraus the goal of history is the universal rule of God. He is especially interested in biblical texts which speak of restitution and restoration. He believes God will make everything right in the end. If God were not to do so, his own creative purposes would be frustrated. Consequently, the eternal persistence of evil implied in the biblical teaching of two ways, with the interpretation of hell as eternal destruction, becomes problematic for Kraus. At times he speaks in very traditional terms; on other occasions he concentrates upon the weakness of such a view. He does not sense a need to choose or declare himself. As a teacher he merely presents different possible options, and then critiques each one.

A theme, implicit throughout Kraus's writings, becomes very clear at the end of this second work. He hesitates to accept traditional interpretations of God's wrath and judgment because he believes they are not consistent with the biblical concept of God's love which seeks the restoration of all things. Kraus does not espouse universalism, but it is the position which makes the most sense to him. Is it possibly true that our efforts to make God an absolute pacifist will inevitably lead toward such conclusions?

Is the God we discover by such a process the God of the Bible, or the God we have made in our own image? That is an open question. Kraus is not the only Mennonite scholar who has been moving in such a direction. The logic of universalism is not new to the Mennonite church; what is new is the freedom within church institutions to express sympathy for such convictions.

In many ways Kraus's Christology highlights an impasse in Mennonite theology. Some scholars are borrowing extensively from outside the peace church tradition to find some logical answer to the question of violence in the biblical accounts. To Kraus's great credit he seeks to remain faithful to the Anabaptist heritage in formulating his position.

Not only does Kraus direct his reconception of God back to Creation, he also projects it into the ongoing life

of the Christian community. He seeks to move beyond the New Testament witness, even beyond the reinterpretation which was already taking place within these writings. Observing that the sixteenth-century Anabaptists considered Christ the final authority within the church rather than the Bible as such, Kraus presents a similar stance.

Biblical texts have authority only as they give witness to Christ. For Kraus the supreme authority within the church is not the biblical texts, but Christ himself. That can mean either the "Gestalt of Christ" he finds in the New Testament or the Spirit of Christ leading the contemporary church. Thus congregational discernment under the direction of the Spirit of Christ forms an integral part of Kraus's theology. Such a model can be found within the New Testament community. To claim the Bible, even the New Testament, as the final authority within the life of the church easily degenerates into a new form of literalism and legalism which Kraus denounces as the error of the Pharisees.

The Swiss Brethren would have been much too literalistic on this point to please Kraus. Although they held Christ to be the final authority within Scripture, they did not see a dichotomy between Christ and the New Testament texts as Kraus sometimes does. It is one thing to ignore New Testament texts because

they give no concrete witness to Christ; it is quite another to downplay texts which present a witness which is not consonant with the writer's "Gestalt of Christ." The Swiss Brethren may have done the former, but they did not do the latter.

The work of Norman Kraus might properly be called a systematic Christology. He has organized the biblical teaching with logical consistency. He has presented an impressive vision of the nature and purpose of God as seen through his self-revelation in Jesus. However, for many of us, our Christian experience is touched with paradox. Some things we do not understand. There is an element of mystery in the divine nature.


It is not at all clear that the problem of the active participation of God in violence within the biblical accounts can as easily be harmonized with a peace theology as Kraus would lead his readers to believe. The tradition of holy violence within the Old Testament is too imbedded and much too foundational within its sacred stories to be so readily dismissed as due to our "misunderstanding and ignorance." There is far more involved than that.

Kraus does not like paradoxical answers to such difficult questions. His tenacious commitment to this principle leads him to discover many new insights into the profound implications for the church of such Anabaptist themes as congregational

discernment, discipleship, the way of the cross, and most of all a peace theology.

Yet the hesitancy to accept apparent contradictions creates its own set of insoluble difficulties. My intention in focusing on them has not been to try to criticize his work unduly, but rather to open channels of dialogue in the continuing search for divine truth.

According to Norman Kraus, "both/and" types of answers may simply reflect sloppy thinking. At times that may be so. Yet there may be instances when those are the best answers we have, and it is necessary to say so. It is all right, even for a theologian, to admit that we do not have all the answers.

When we talk about God, we should not say what God can or cannot be, or what God can or cannot do. God is not bound by our limited conceptions. We must accept the biblical God, not create our own God. We are called to conform to God's will. God does not have to meet our expectations. Our responsibility as God's people is to study the Bible, to seek to understand the story, and then to follow the way of Christ in obedience. There is still much to be done. 

Erv Schlabach is a member of the Millersburg (Ohio) Mennonite Church.

Amish Documents in the Archives of the Mennonite Church

By Dennis Stoesz

What follows is a list of nine archival collections containing Amish documents in them. These collections have been highlighted for this tricentennial year of the Amish, 1693-1993.

Amish Ministers' Meetings

Collection. Booklets, printed between 1862-1878, which contain the reports of the Amish minister meetings "Dienerversammlungen" that took place in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. A translation of these meetings has been done by Paton Yoder, Goshen, Indiana. 3 linear inches.

Amish Documents Collection.

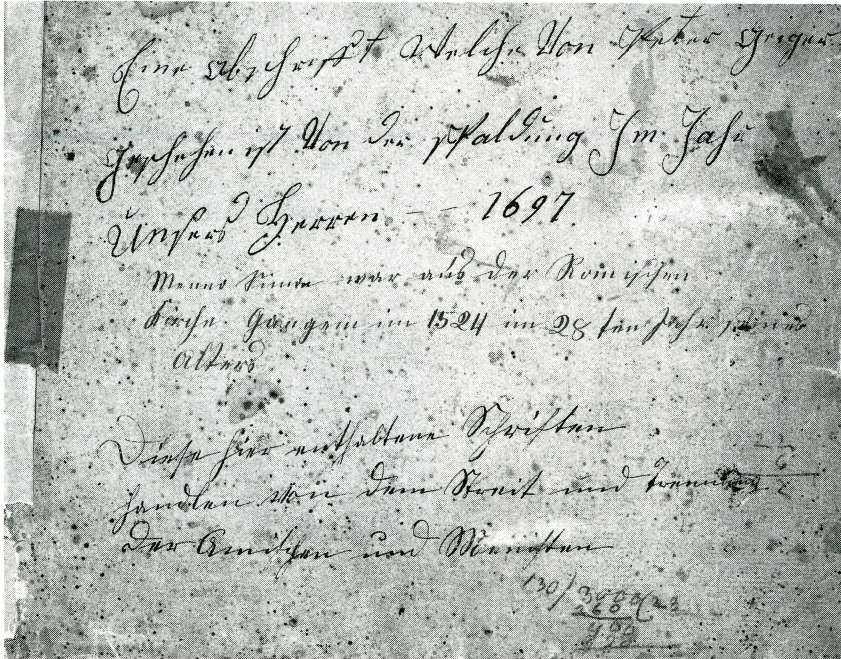
Papers, dating from the 17th to the 20th centuries (bulk 19th century), which includes manuscripts, essays and correspondence by and or about Amish. 8 linear inches. Collection is organized into 21 file folders, and found in two archival boxes. The bulk of these materials were obtained from the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana, in 1948.

Some specific materials include: a November 22, 1693 letter; an Amish Minister's Manual, written, copied or in the possession of Joseph Unziker, Hanss Nafziger, J. S. Gerig, and Stark County, Ohio; an Amish division letter copied or written by Ulrich Gerber in 1823; a letter sent to Christian Miller concerning forms of church services; a letter from Hanz Jantzi to Michael

Jantzi, 1833; a copy of letter to Nicklaus Bacher; and several unidentified German manuscripts, some belonging to J. S. Gerig.

Solomon K. Beiler (1798-1888)

Collection. Copy Book, 1858-1887, which includes letters from the 1693 Amish division, a discussion of the mode of baptism, family records of Beiler and spouse Sarah Hertzler (1799-1887), and a short article on whether a deacon should be ordained a bishop. Beiler was an Amish bishop in the "Middle District" of an Amish congregation of Kishacoquillas Valley, near Belleville, Pennsylvania. He wrote this copy book during the time of transition for the Amish community in Pennsylvania. It is handwritten in Gothic script, contains 76 pages.



This is the title page of a manuscript copied by Friedrich Schwarzendruber of Johnson County, Iowa, in the nineteenth century. It contains three "letters of the Amish division" including the Peter Geiger letter and a hymn. The manuscript is with the Daniel B. Swartzendruber Collection in the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

Transcription of title page::

Eine Abschrift Welche Von Peter geiger geschehen ist Von der spaldung Im
Jahr Unser Herren—1697.
Menno Simon war aus der Romischen Kirche gangen im 1524 im 28ten
Jahr seines Alters
Diese hier enthaltene Schriften handeln von dem Streit und Trennung der
Amischen und Menisten

Translation of title page:

A copy of what Peter Geiger wrote concerning the division in the year of our
Lord, 1697.
Menno Simons left the Roman Church in 1524 in the 28th year of his life.
These writings, as found below, deal with the dispute and separation
between the Amish and the Mennonites. *✠*

Obtained from Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana in 1992.

Christian Lehmann (died around 1915) Collection. Amish sermons from Alsace, France, dating from the 19th century, which include topics such as marriage, funerals, ordination, prepratory sermon before communion, communion, excommunication, young people, and special days such as New Year's and Christmas. Christian Lehmann was a minister of the Mennonite congregation at Saarburg, Lorraine, France. Sermons are in handwritten Gothic script, and most have been translated into English by John Umble. See also Umble's article "An Early Amish Formulary" in January 1960 issue of *Mennonite*

Quarterly Review. 3 linear inches. Inventory available. Obtained from the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana in 1991. Originally given to Harold S. Bender by H. Voklmar of Colmar, Alsace, France in 1948.

Lores Steury Collection. Papers, dating from 1890s-1940s, about the Amish Reformed Mennonite church, Berne, Indiana. Includes books, pamphlets, notebooks and writings about this church. 3 linear inches. Obtained from Lores Steury, Goshen, Indiana, in 1985.

Daniel B. Swartzendruber Collection. Papers, dating from the 16th to 19th centuries (bulk nineteenth century). This collection contains manuscripts, copy books, essays,

correspondence, and family histories inherited and collected by Daniel B. Swartzendruber, who was a teacher, farmer and Amish and Mennonite historian from Kalona, Iowa. 16 linear inches. Collection is organized into 73 file folders, and is found in four archival boxes. An inventory listing of this collection is available.

Some specific materials include: copies of 1568, 1607, 1630, 1779, 1781, 1809, 1837 and 1865 Amish meetings; an Uli Amman letter of about 1720; letters outlining forms of baptism, marriage, and ordination; Amish church records, 1860s and 1870s; and letters to J. F. Swartzendruber from *Herald* readers.

Mahala L. Yoder (1850-1877)

Collection. Diary, 1871-1876, which records the everyday life of this Amish Mennonite who was an invalid and lived with her father, Elias Yoder, and her step-mother, Catherine Stucky Frey Yoder (1810-1881), on a farm in Dry Grove Township, McLean County, near Bloomington, Illinois. Photocopy of typescript, which was typed out in 1942, .5 linear inches. Obtained from Paton Yoder, Goshen, Indiana, in 1989, via Myrna Park who discovered the original typescript of the diary at the Illinois State Historical, Springfield, Illinois. Original diary is in private hands.

Mary Elizabeth Yoder Collection.

Amish papers, 1881-1919, includes letters written from John Gascho to Manasses Beachy, 1884-1892; letters written to Manasses Beachy, 1885-1895; to Samuel and Magdalene Miller, 1881-1898; to Moses Yoder, 1884; and miscellaneous letters, 1887 and 1919. Photocopies, 2 linear inches. Obtained from Mary Elizabeth Yoder, Grantsville, Maryland in 1984.

Paton Yoder Collection. Papers, 1874-1963, including diaries, correspondence, poems and research materials of Paton Yoder relating to Amish bishop John Stoltzfus (1805-1887), Knox County, Tennessee, to Katie Hersherberger (1852-1929), Howard County, Indiana, and to the Silvanus Yoder (1873-1963) and Susie (Troyer) Yoder (1874-1936) family, Elkhart County, Indiana. Documents on John Stoltzfus are photocopies. 2.5 linear feet. Obtained from Paton Yoder, Goshen, Indiana, between 1981-1988. *✠*

Book Reviews

Mennonite Furniture: A Migrant Tradition (1766-1910). Reinhold Kauenhoven Janzen and John M. Janzen. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books. 1991. Pp. 230. \$35.00.

The Pennsylvania Barn. Robert F. Ensminger. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins. 1992. Pp. 238. \$39.95.

The importance of American material culture studies has only recently been gaining recognition in Mennonite circles. These two important contributions explore how the folk archetypes move on through time and geography, modified perhaps in particulars but still intact in basic form.

Both books illustrate the importance, even the necessity, of doing European fieldwork as a foundation for interpreting what the immigrants produced here. The authors have done extremely well in discovering what the immigrants brought with them physically and in their minds, what was "untranslatable" in the New World, and what had to be invented to serve as replacement.

Mennonite Furniture specifically deals only with the furniture produced by the very distinct south Russian and Polish Mennonite immigrants of the past century. **The Pennsylvania Barn** deals with a unique barn type built in many states by immigrant groups over the past three centuries.

Mennonite Furniture exhaustively documents the unique furniture tradition of the Mennonites who settled on the American plains after 1874. This northern branch of the Anabaptist movement is traced from its Netherlands and North German origins through centuries of history and migrations in Europe and North America.

The broad title is misleading and belies the very specific scope of the contents. One would hope to see similar quality works appear on the entirely different furniture and material culture traditions of the Swiss and South German Mennonite groups who have also settled in North America.

The book is a model of how to document and interpret the material culture of a people. The authors

brilliantly show how the beliefs and practices of this particular group of Mennonites are embodied in the products of their lives—the architecture and furniture they made. Both also reflect the various cultural, political and social contexts with which these Mennonites came in contact during their wanderings.

The depth of investigation into this social and historical context also makes this work a valuable resource for anyone studying the broader history of the Mennonites. The maps are essential, and 10 pages of notes and bibliography will satisfy the most demanding scholar. The authors are to be congratulated for their accomplishment—a most welcome addition to the meager library on Mennonite material culture.

The Pennsylvania Barn is an extensive, thoroughly researched work and welcome addition to the library of folk culture, lay or professional. In spite of Ensminger's predisposition to believe this unique type of barn was an American original, he reviews the various theories regarding its origin.

Then the author lists seven succinct reasons for believing that it is a development from a direct European prototype, the log forebay barns found in Canton Graubünden, Switzerland. These conclusions were reached from surveying European literature and extensive field work carried out during three European trips. He also cites work by Terry Jordan leading to similar conclusions.

The bulk of the book is concerned with the classification, evolution and distribution of the Pennsylvania barn in America. In the distribution in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Ontario, he discusses the significance of the Amish, Mennonite and Brethren groups in the spread of the barns.

Many of the structures surveyed in Europe are two and three hundred years old, the earliest dating to 1564, well before emigration to Pennsylvania began. Ensminger's final chapter on the future of the Pennsylvania barn raises the poignant question of whether these Swiss prototypes will survive their American progeny, as many early structures fall to urbanization in eastern Pennsylvania.

Stanley A. Kaufman
Berlin, Ohio



Al Reimer: Canadian critic who "makes sense of this wonderful rage and grace."

Mennonite Literary Voices Past and Present. Al Reimer. North Newton, Ks.: Bethel College, 1993. Pp. 75. Price \$10.00.


In 1976 John L. Ruth delivered the Bethel College Menno Simons lectures which were an Emersonian call for Mennonites to find their own voices in literature (**Mennonite Identity and Literary Art**, Herald Press, 1978). Fifteen years later Al Reimer again addressed the topic at Bethel College with a much larger body of literature to reflect on, the explosion of Mennonite writing in western Canada.

These Winnipeg writers remind one of the outburst of New York Jewish voices after the Second World War. Al Reimer is the Mennonite Alfred Kazin, the wise arbiter who makes sense of this wonderful rage and grace. If, as Reimer suggests, Rudy Wiebe invented the English novel for the Mennonites, then a group of women poets such as Di Brandt, Sarah Klassen and Audrey Poetker have taken the poetic voice to new levels of energy and achievement.

There is room for debate here in defining Mennonite and the place of the artist in a close Christian community. On one level, this book can be read as a discussion between Ruth and Reimer and their aesthetics in the Mennonite Christian community. The discussion goes back to the Gospel story, **The Wandering Soul**, and the differences between the

Dutch Russian and Swiss German North American Mennonite churches.

Reimer's book is a valuable introduction to Canadian Mennonite writing and even to Canadian literature itself. It is on this national landscape where much of this writing has ultimately found its home.

Levi Miller
Goshen, Indiana 

News and Notes

Albert N. Keim, the biographer of Harold S. Bender, will speak on the development of the Anabaptist Vision at the Mennonite Church Historical Association July 29 at the Philadelphia Convention Center. The five o'clock dinner meeting will be at the biennial Mennonite Church General Assembly; for late reservations call Galen Horst-Martz 215 843 0943.

Marion Bontrager of Hesston (Kansas) College was speaker for the fifth anniversary worship service on April 24 at Menno-Hof, a Mennonite-Amish visitor center at Shipshewana, Indiana. Sam Bontrager of Goshen, Indiana, is president of the board.

Peter Dyck, retired Mennonite Central Committee worker, from Akron, Pennsylvania, spoke at the annual meeting of the Mennonite Information Center at Berlin, Ohio, April 30. Wayne Miller is president of the board.

Virgil Yoder (110 Northumberland Road, Irwin, PA 15642) presented a slide lecture on the 50-year history of the Laurelville Mennonite Church Center on April 30 at the Association's annual meeting. He has also prepared an outstanding 45-minute slide lecture which combines the Yoders' religious, cultural and family history.

Algemene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit (General Mennonite Conference) is sponsoring an essay contest in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Menno Simons (1496-1996). Essays of 5,000 words may be submitted on the "relevance of the writings of Menno Simons for church and world in the year 1996, based on recent or new research." First prize is 6,000 guilders, second 4,000, and third,

2,000 with a May 1, 1995, deadline for entries. More information is available from Algemene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit, Singel 454, 1017 AW Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Mennonite Historical Association of the Cumberland Valley has begun a quarterly newsletter called **Conocheague Mennonist**. Named after a local creek, the newsletter is edited by Edsel Burdge and Association membership (\$10) can be secured from Harvey Martin, 1049 Sollenberger Road, Chambersburg, PA 17201.

Moravian Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, has inaugurated the Center for Moravian Studies which will promote the scholarly study of the history, beliefs and traditions of the Moravian Church. Director of Moravian Studies is Otto Dreydoppel, Jr., Moravian Theological Seminary, 1200 Main Street, Bethlehem, PA 18018.

John Sharp, Allegheny Conference historian of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, was speaker for the annual meeting of Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society in Belleville, Pennsylvania, on May 6. Paul Bender, president, noted that the Big Valley Men's Chorus is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary in 1994.

The national Hostetler (and variant spellings) family gathering is on July 24 at Central Christian High School at Kidron, Ohio. The Hostetler Family Association publishes a newsletter (edited by Daniel Hostetler of Goshen, Indiana) and sponsors reunions and tours. Membership can be secured in the association for \$7 by writing to Pat Dickerhoof (Box 2085, Elkhart, IN 46515).

Juniata Mennonite District Historical Society holds its annual meeting July 10, which includes a presentation on Amish settlements in Union County, a talk and ride on the West Shore Railroad, and lessons from the Anabaptist martyrs. Lloyd Graybill is chair of the society which meets at the Buffalo Mennonite Church, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.


Joel Alderfer, curator at the MeetingHouse at Harleysville, Pennsylvania, is hosting Lancaster people who will visit the Franconia area on July 17. The field trip is sponsored by the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society. Alderfer is also

hosting a meeting of **NAMAL, North American Mennonite Archivists and Librarians**, July 30, at Germantown Mennonite Meetinghouse. For more information on the 2 to 5 p.m. meeting, contact Alderfer at 215 256 3020.

Mennonite Heritage Sunday is October 31, 1993, with a 1693-1993 Amish Mennonite theme. Worship materials written by Beulah Stauffer Hostetler will appear in the July "Memo to Pastors," and Mennonite Publishing House bulletins relate to that theme. Contact the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church for more information.

Casselman River Amish and Mennonite Historians plan their annual meeting September 3 (evening) and 4 at the Maple Glen Mennonite Church near Grantsville, Maryland. David I. Miller, chair, will head up a program on the Daniel Bender (c. 1765-1842) family.

Kidron Community Historical Society has begun a \$250,000 campaign to build a heritage center near the square of this Ohio Swiss Mennonite community. The community is celebrating its 175th anniversary in 1994. Wayne Leichty chairs the society and **Paul Neuenschwander** is treasurer.

Correction. Margaret Shetler is writing the history (1893-1993) of Zion Mennonite Church, the oldest continuing Mennonite congregation in Oregon. The April, 1993, issue, page 16, called Zion the second oldest. 

With Appreciation

Ernest Rittenhouse Clemens

By John L. Ruth

Ernest Clemens, a banker living in Line Lexington, Pennsylvania, was only 30 years old in September, 1930, when the elderly members of the newly formed Franconia Mennonite Historical Society chose him as their secretary. Even then his historical interests, like his other hobbies, were decades old, and they would all be characterized by longevity.

Son of a violin-playing schoolteacher and later banker who had been unexpectedly called to the Mennonite ministry in 1906 at age 32, Ernest had imbibed many of Jacob C. Clemens's enthusiasms. Among them was a passion for classical music (almost unheard of among local Mennonites then), bird watching, and history.

Two years after the historical society was founded, Ernest planted acorns here and there in the community, and to this day he can view the towering results on a dozen local locations. I can look up from the keyboard to a mass of poplar foliage issuing from a sapling Ernest brought to his sister two generations ago.

At the home in Lansdale which Ernest and his first wife Clara Ruth bought in 1933 (and Ernest lived in for nearly six decades), there are still a good two dozen varieties of wild ferns, transferred there from local wooded hills and stream-banks. The house, by the way, has the same slate roof in 1993 that it had when Ernest bought it, and like Ernest, it's in good shape.

When the Franconia Conference finally got its "Aid Plan"—a concession to some organized means of insurance—in 1937, Ernest was again called on to act as treasurer. "But I don't know anything about insurance," protested the Lansdale banker. "We don't either," answered Bishop Arthur Ruth. "but we're going to work at it." In this office, too, Ernest served 42 years.

Annually the historical society,

steering rather clear of the neighboring Eastern District Conference of General Conference Mennonites, held public meetings, celebrating this or that anniversary, bringing in speakers like Harold S. Bender, and engaging recent Goshen College graduate John Christian Wenger to produce a written history of the Conference. Along the way Ernest became a member of the Mennonite Historical Association, also headquartered in Goshen.

Indeed, Goshen, Indiana, location of the Archives of the Mennonite Church, brings Ernest multiple family memories. His brother James served as the Goshen College librarian for three decades; his daughter Pauline graduated from the college in 1948; his son-in-law John Fisher was a long-time English professor there; and his granddaughter Susan Miller is presently writing the college's 100-year history.

A change in position in 1942 brought Ernest from a Lansdale Bank to the one in Harleysville. One of the requirements of the "assistant cashier" there was that he must be able to "talk Dutch." Ernest filled that bill, advanced to cashier, and onto the bank board itself from which he retired 49 years after transferring to Harleysville.

In 1967, when the Franconia Mennonite Historical Society merged its small archival and library holdings with those of the Eastern Conference district, Ernest was still the society's treasurer. Thus, he became a part of what in the next decade became today's joint-conference Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania.

Ernest's voice is heard on the tape recording of the first meeting in 1974 to discuss having a new "heritage center." Prized among the archival treasures in the new MeetingHouse which opened in 1990 is a family record book of the pioneer Jacob Clemens family of the Salford congregation which Ernest donated to the collection.

Ernest Clemens has planted and watered many a historical seed in his lifetime. He has watched the Germantown Mennonite Corporation, of which he was a long-time board member, support back a vigorous life in the oldest Mennonite congregation

in America. He has lived to hear performances of the great oratorios, with orchestral support, in the meetinghouses of the fellowship that once caused his father to lay down his beloved violin.

He has reached the 35th anniversary with his second wife, Lois Gunden, after 30 years in his prior marriage. At age 93, he is realistic about aging. He says that if he gets to the point where he can't remember how old he is, he'll just ask what year it is, since, having been born in 1900, he remembers his age going "with the year." Still enthusiastic about his heritage, he's on the alert for the latest avian visitor to "Dock Village."

In the Psalmist's phrase, having been like a tree "planted in the courts of the Lord," he is showing how one can "still bring forth fruit in old age."

John L. Ruth of Harleysville, Pennsylvania, recently completed the manuscript for the forthcoming Lancaster Mennonite Conference history.

Christian J. Kurtz

By Carolyn C. Wenger

"They're always the same," people say fondly and wistfully of Christian J. and Elsie Kurtz, who have lent stability and nurture to the Mennonites of the Conestoga Valley for over 60 years. "They never seem to change."

Following their seventieth wedding anniversary, celebrated in January, 1993, Christ, as he is affectionately known, commented that Elsie, the childhood sweetheart whom he married, "is still the prettiest girl I ever saw." They were married by Bishop John S. Mast of the Conestoga Mennonite Church and have always lived in the Morgantown-Elverson area of western Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Having retired from farming in 1962, he has watched the Pennsylvania Turnpike, business, and tourism sprout from fertile neighboring

farmlands. In fact, a shopping mall now stands where his father farmed. Radiating saintly hospitality and charity, they welcome visitors to their home with glasses of homemade grape juice, pretzels, and warm Christian fellowship.

Cultivating and maintaining strong family and church ties in spite of a geographically spread family, C. J. and Elsie try to keep in touch with their seven children, 38 grandchildren, and 67 great-grandchildren. A framed motto on the wall reads: "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." As they continue to give all the glory for their lives to the Lord they faithfully serve and, though "still here," they are ready to move as soon as God calls.

Ordained to the ministry in 1931, Christ served the Conestoga and Rock Mennonite churches. His love for "our beloved church" transcended conference lines as attested by his attendance at numerous winter Bible schools and ministry meetings in the neighboring Lancaster Conference even though he belonged to the Ohio and Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference (now Atlantic Coast Conference).

Keenly interested in Mennonite and Amish church history and in genealogy, he confesses that "history was bunk to me—especially all that killing and fighting"—until John Horsch began to write historical articles in the **Christian Monitor** in the 1930s. Little by little the infectious Kurtz family history bug bit Christ, who is now regarded as an authority on four Amish Kurtz immigrants, being two sets of brothers—from all four of whom he is descended. He also credits Elsie's mother, sister, and grandfather with whetting his appetite for genealogy by talking about *Freindschaft*. In addition, a local historical society speaker introduced Christ to his memorable box of Jacob Kurtz paper treasures.

At least since 1957, he held membership in the Mennonite Historical Association of Goshen, Indiana, and became active in the Eastern Mennonite Associated Libraries and Archives consortium initially at the request of Grant M.

Stoltzfus. He represented the Conestoga District from 1962 to 1978, as well as being active in his county and regional historical societies.

In 1972, he became a charter member and first vice-president of the Mennonite Historical Associates, which later became the membership arm of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society. He then served as a member of its board from 1972 to the present, now, an honorary member. He wrote occasional articles for historical journals and church papers in areas of his interest.

His correspondence and files reflect his ready willingness to assist others as do his record of leading historical tours in Berks County, collection and donation of archival materials for preservation, packing used books from Society auctions for successful mail bidders, and his cheerful trips to the Reading book bindery on behalf of the Society library.

In both ministerial and historical positions, he gracefully transferred his mantle to younger shoulders to carry on his activities. In spite of his love for history he confesses that—when asked to talk on change in the church, for example, he would rather speak about the life of Christ as a model for all to follow. For him the study of history has inspired faith and hope in God as maintained victoriously by the faithful of previous generations (I Corinthians 15:57).

Carolyn C. Wenger is director of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society in Pennsylvania.

John Christian Wenger

By Gerald C. Studer


It is a challenge and rare privilege for me to attempt to express my appreciation for the life and friendship of John C. Wenger, Brother J.C. He has filled a variety of roles for me—mentor, lecturer, author, churchman, historian, story-teller, and spiritual father.

A flood of memories comes to mind as I think of his gracious and totally unexpected gift to my Bible collection of a first edition Sauer Bible. When he would lodge with us while attending Mennonite Publication Board meetings at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, he brought our daughters delightful little books, always with a caricature of himself and signed "Uncle J. C."

When he told stories on the video at the Menno-Hof (the Mennonite Amish visitor center) at Shipshewana, Indiana, I could not be content with anything less than seeing and hearing all of them. He introduced me to the beloved colonial Pennsylvania schoolmaster, Christopher Dock, in a college Mennonite history class that fostered in me a lifelong admiration. His teaching style, replete with anecdotes, was memorable, and I cannot overlook the picture of him riding his bicycle across campus to and from his home.

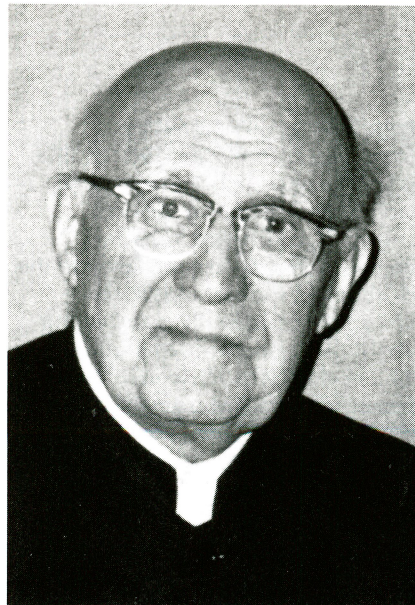
I have been nurtured, guided and enriched by his many books. He brought to my experience and to my services on the Mennonite Historical Committee a seasoned balance between European Anabaptist history and American Mennonite history.

His warm personality along with his focused theology has been for me a North Star in pastoral ministry. He will always occupy one of the few major chairs of Christ-like influence in my experience both in academic training for ministry and in exemplifying a broad and intense involvement with the world-wide Mennonite Church. I can only thank God for the privilege of being under his instruction and of walking alongside so great, yet humble, a friend and guide.

Gerald C. Studer of Lansdale, Pennsylvania, is conference minister of the Atlantic Coast Mennonite Conference and served for many years as book review editor of the **Mennonite Historical Bulletin**. J. C. Wenger was a member of the Historical Committee from 1945 to 1973, serving as chair from 1963 to 1973. 



Ernest R. Clemens



Christian J. Kurtz



John C. Wenger

Three to be Recognized

Ernest R. Clemens, Christian J. Kurtz, and John C. Wenger will be recognized for their contribution to and support of Mennonite history at the Mennonite Church Historical Association dinner meeting July 29 at the Philadelphia Convention Center. The meeting will be held in conjunction with the biennial Mennonite Church General Assembly and will include an address by Eastern Mennonite College historian, Albert N. Keim, and music by Glenn M. Lehman's Foresingers. Appreciative notes on the three people appear on pages 14 and 15.

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History of The Anabaptist Vision



By Albert N. Keim

As the stout black-clad chairman opened the meeting with a brisk prayer, he gave the appearance of a middle aged priest. His receding hairline, dark eyes, strong nose and a mouth which smiled easily conveyed a sense of congenial intelligence, the personality of a good parish priest. But the coat was Mennonite, and its wearer was Harold S. Bender, dean and acting president of Goshen College. At that moment he was the presiding president of the fifty-fifth meeting of the American Society of Church History.

The place of the meeting was Room 104 in Milbank Hall at Columbia University in New York City. It was 3:20 in the afternoon on Tuesday, December 28, 1943. The meeting began twenty minutes late because the train Bender was traveling on from Indiana arrived late in New York, a not unusual occurrence under the conditions of wartime travel. Travel during that week after Christmas was even worse than usual because the railroad unions were threatening a strike to get higher overtime pay.

By the time Harold arrived in New York City, Roosevelt had ordered the army to take over the railroads. There would be no strike. Actually Bender was fortunate to be at the meeting. It was only at the last minute that a Pullman berth became available, and his twenty-hour rail journey to New York became possible.

As presiding officer, Bender's first order of business was the sad announcement of the death of Dr. Thomas Clinton Pears, Jr., just 48 hours earlier. Pears, from Philadelphia, had been the long-time secretary of the society. The 25 members present then

Harold S. Bender's American Society of Church History presidential address on December 28, 1943, was followed by "a very lively discussion which would have undoubtedly continued much longer were it not for lack of time, for President Bender had to leave soon afterwards by plane to attend a meeting in Chicago." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church. Harold S. Bender Collection



Milbank Hall of Columbia University. The Anabaptist Vision speech was: "written in haste, read to a tiny audience of less than 20 academicians, none of whom were Mennonite, in a richly paneled dining room at an Ivy League University in the heart of New York City." Photo: Columbia University Archives

elected Professor Matthew Spinka to be acting secretary. After several other items of business, two papers were read. The most engaging paper was by David M. Cory on "The Religious History Of the Mohawk and Oneida Tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy." Interspersed during the reading of the paper were a number of songs in the Iroquois language sung by two members of the Iroquois tribe. It provided a colorful accent to the otherwise decorous proceedings of the society meeting.

At seven o'clock the Society held its annual dinner at the Columbia University Men's Faculty Club. The address of the outgoing president of the society followed the dinner. Harold Bender entitled his address "The Anabaptist Vision." The 30-minute speech was followed by what the minutes described as "a very lively discussion which would have undoubtedly continued much longer were it not for lack of time, for President Bender had to leave soon afterwards by plane to attend a

meeting in Chicago."¹

As president, Bender also chaired the Council of the American Society of Church History. The council was the governing body of the church history society. At the conclusion of the presidential address the council retired to one of the Men's Faculty Club chambers for their annual meeting. Bender presided. Only six of the ten members of the Council were present. Acting secretary Spinka reported on memberships. During the year membership had declined slightly.

The **Mennonite Historical Bulletin** is published quarterly by the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church and distributed to the members of the Mennonite Church Historical Association.

Editor: Levi Miller; Review editor: Steven D. Reschly; Design: Randall Horst; Contributing editors: Janeen Bertsche Johnson, J. Robert Charles, Sandra Cronk, Marlene Epp, Jan Gleysteen, Reg Good, Leonard Gross, Amos B. Hoover, Russel Krabill, Glenn M. Lehman, Joseph Liechty, Steven Nolt, John D. Roth, Erv Schlabach, Jonathan Showalter, Mary Sprunger, Dennis Stoesz, Gerald Studer, Wilmer Swope, Marilyn Helmuth Voran, Rachel Waltner Goossen, Frank Yoder. Historical Committee: Gerald Hudson, Arlin D. Lapp, Hope Kauffman Lind, Steven D. Reschly, John E. Sharp, Beulah Stauffer Hostetler, Samuel Steiner, Carolyn C. Wenger.

Dues for subscription-membership in the Mennonite Church Historical Association (\$20 annual), inquiries, articles, or news items should be sent to the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526. Telephone (219) 535-7477, FAX (219) 535-7660.

Microfilms of Volumes I-L of the Mennonite Historical Bulletin are available from: University Microfilms, Inc., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Total membership was 369. Included in the membership were Mennonites Cornelius Krahn, C. Henry Smith, and Harold's two colleagues on the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* editorial board, Robert Friedmann and Ernst Correll. The previous year John C. Wenger had resigned his membership and Guy Hershberger had been dropped from the rolls for failure to pay society dues.

New council members were elected, Harold being one of them. He was also appointed chair of the committee on program and local arrangements for the 1944 meeting in Chicago. The other members of his committee were University of Chicago Professors Sidney Mead and Wilhelm Pauck. In his last action as President Bender appointed his friend Roland Bainton to preside at the meeting of the society the next day.

That done he caught a taxi to LaGuardia Field and boarded a plane for Cleveland, where sometime after midnight he caught the train to Chicago. Just after lunch, at 12:30 he was at his place as secretary of the executive committee of Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) in one of the conference rooms at the Atlantic Hotel, ready for a day and a half of intense meetings dealing with the burgeoning Civilian Public Service program.²

In the busy, hectic life of Harold Bender in 1943, the 42-hour dash to New York City was a minor episode. During the Fall of 1943 he served as acting president of Goshen College in addition to being dean while the president of the college, Ernest Miller, attended Princeton Seminary.

As chair of the Mennonite Peace Problems Committee he was preoccupied with the growing criticism coming from conservatives in the church regarding the Civilian Public Service (CPS) program. He was also in charge of the educational program at the CPS camps, which required frequent travel to CPS locations. As secretary of MCC he carried on a huge correspondence. And he was editor of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Somehow he also found time to teach two courses.

In the midst of such a maelstrom of activity it is no wonder that Bender was able to give very little time to the writing of "The Anabaptist Vision." As late as December 16, less than two



Elizabeth Horsch Bender: "Her influence on *The Anabaptist Vision* was quite direct," and her husband borrowed from her Masters thesis on "The Mennonites in German Literature." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church. Harold S. Bender Collection

weeks before it was to be given, it had not been written.³ When he finally got to the writing, he wrote it in just a few days. His wife Elizabeth Horsch Bender remembered that she "was just amazed how he got that whole thing done and ready to give ... in no time at all: two or three days."⁴

In the rush of preparation he did not take time to do the careful source citations the essay required. Because the annual presidential address was published in *Church History*, Bender had to go back and insert the necessary research apparatus. Sometime in January 1944 a Goshen College student saw Harold and Elizabeth and John C. Wenger sitting at the long table in the Historical Library at the college surrounded by great mounds of books, intently searching for references. The student remembered John C. Wenger's gleeful chuckle as he announced "I've found another one."⁵ They were busy preparing *The Anabaptist Vision* for publication.

Thus the classic and seminal essay in Mennonite history was created. Written in haste, read to a tiny audience of less than 20 academicians, none of whom were Mennonite, in a richly paneled dining room at an Ivy

League University in the heart of New York City, Harold Bender could not have imagined what his presidential address would ultimately become, nor guessed how powerful its influence would be, both on the world of Anabaptist scholarship and on the self-understanding of his own people, the Mennonites. He did not know that he had produced a classic.

Concepts of The Anabaptist Vision

Bender began the essay by acknowledging what most church historians accepted as true in 1943; the seeds of modern religious liberty were planted by the Anabaptists. But, he argued, religious liberty was not the true essence of Anabaptism. Rather "Anabaptism is the culmination of the Reformation, the fulfillment of the original vision of Luther and Zwingli, and thus makes it a consistent evangelical Protestantism seeking to recreate without compromise the original New Testament church"⁶ The Anabaptists "retained the original vision of Luther and Zwingli, enlarged it, gave it body and form, and set out to achieve it in actual experience."⁷

The content of the Vision was three-fold, said Bender. The key element was discipleship, "a concept which meant the transformation of the entire way of life of the individual believer and of society so that it should be fashioned after the teachings and example of Christ..." The focus of the Christian life was not so much the inward experience of the grace of God, as it was for Luther, but the outward application of that grace to all human conduct."⁸

Second, the Vision embodied a new concept of the church. Bender put it this way: "Voluntary church membership based upon true conversion and involving a commitment to holy living and discipleship was the absolutely essential heart of this concept."⁹ He contrasted this with the acceptance by the reformers of the medieval mass church.

The third element of the Vision was the ethic of love and nonresistance applied, as he put it "to all human relationships."¹⁰ He ended the essay with an action statement: "The Anabaptist vision was not a detailed



*"In 1943 the 46-year-old Bender was at the heights of his powers, both as a scholar and as a church leader." In 1946 the founder and editor of the **Mennonite Quarterly Review** hosted these associate editors of at his home: Robert Friedmann, Ernst Correll (with whom Bender founded the journal), John C. Wenger, Bender, John Umble, Melvin Gingerich, Cornelius Krahn, and J. Winfield Fretz. Photo: Goshen College. Mennonite Historical Library*

blueprint for the reconstruction of human society, but the Brethren did believe that Jesus intended that the Kingdom of God should be set in the midst of the earth, here and now, and this they proposed to do forthwith. We shall not believe, they said, that the Sermon on the Mount or any other vision that He had is only a heavenly vision meant but to keep his followers in tension until the last great day, but we shall practise what He taught, believing that where He walked we can by His grace follow His steps."¹¹

Formative Influences on the Development of The Anabaptist Vision Essay

How did Bender arrive at the concepts in The Anabaptist Vision address? Since the original address is not available we cannot determine how much the original differed from the published version, which appeared first in the March, 1944, issue of **Church History**, and then in the April **Mennonite Quarterly Review**. But since he did not spend two months of

intensive research in preparation—it was "dashed off" as Elizabeth put it—it serves as an accurate gauge of Harold Bender's understanding of Anabaptism at an intuitive level. He wrote what was in his understanding at the time: a kind of condensation of what he believed and knew.

By 1943 Harold Bender had been working in the field of Anabaptist studies for 20 years. In 1923-24 he and Elizabeth Horsch Bender spent a year on a Princeton-sponsored fellowship in Europe at the University of Tübingen. During that year he discovered the fertile possibilities of European Anabaptist sources. Invited to join the faculty of newly reopened Goshen College, Harold and Elizabeth returned in the Fall of 1924 with Ernst Correll in tow. Correll had just completed a Ph.D at the University of Munich under Ernst Troeltsch, where he had written about the economic situation of eighteenth century Swiss Mennonites.

Within a few months the two young faculty members, (Harold was 27, Correll 30) had founded the Mennonite Historical Society, and announced ambitious plans to publish

a two volume work on Conrad Grebel, the first volume to be completed in 1925 to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of Grebel's baptism and the beginnings of the Swiss Brethren. (It would actually be 1950, 25 years later before Bender's Grebel biography would be published.) In 1927 the two founded the **Mennonite Quarterly Review** with Harold as editor. The journal quickly established itself as the premier publication in Anabaptist studies, helped greatly by the prolific research and writing of his father-in-law, John Horsch. During that time Harold was also beginning the collection of Anabaptist sources which would make Goshen College, by 1943, the best center for Anabaptist research in America.

In 1930 and again in 1935 Harold studied at the University of Heidelberg, completing his dissertation on Grebel in one of those frantic Harold Bender efforts. In less than six weeks during June and July of 1935, working day and night, he wrote and typed, in German, the dissertation which got him his Ph.D. During the 1930's, interspersed with his college dean duties (he became dean of

Goshen College in 1931) Bender published a number of installments of his Grebel research in the **Mennonite Quarterly Review**.

No great work of any kind can ever be separated from the individual who produces it. When Bender produced *The Anabaptist Vision*, it was not the work of an esoteric academician, but of a busy administrator and church leader. In 1943 the 46 year old Bender was at the height of his powers, both as a scholar and as a church leader. He was surely the ablest of the contemporary church leaders. Only Orie Miller matched him, but Orie lacked the intellectual acumen of Bender. What they shared, however, was an ability to straddle conservative-liberal issues. By the 1940's Harold had developed that ability into something of an art form.

Built on a foundation of complete commitment to the Mennonite church, and a readiness to give ground on non-essentials for the sake of basics, Bender was nearly always able to outflank his critics. The crisis which World War II created pushed Bender and Miller to the front and center of Mennonite leadership. The two together, Miller with his administrative genius, and Bender with his theological and intellectual prowess, out-matched every one else. CPS and the war emergency gave them the scope and challenge they needed. For two decades—the 1940's and 1950's—they dominated Mennonite church affairs. The Anabaptist Vision could thrive in that environment.

Bender was not an original thinker, but he had a formidable ability to organize and digest large and complex bodies of information. The Anabaptist Vision must be understood in those terms, for it distilled not only Bender's ideas, but the ideas of those around him. Four persons had significant influence on the content of the Vision.

Harold Bender could not have become Harold Bender, but for the work of Elizabeth Horsch Bender. Her influence on the Vision was quite direct. In the summer of 1942 Elizabeth began work on her Master's degree at the University of Minnesota. Her topic was "The Mennonites in German Literature." She completed the work and the degree in 1944. Harold, busy as he was, interested himself in the details of the research, even writing letters to help with her search for

sources.¹² Her research revealed an enormous amount of misinformation about Anabaptists and Mennonites in literary sources.

Since she was writing the thesis during the fall and winter of 1943, her findings were fresh in Harold's mind and no doubt helped focus his concern to delineate the character of Anabaptism. In fact, Harold quoted a passage in the Vision borrowed from Elizabeth's brilliant essay in the July, 1943, **Mennonite Quarterly Review**, entitled "The Portrayal of The Swiss Anabaptists In Gottfried Keller's *URSALA*," in which Keller vilifies the Anabaptists. Bender borrowed Elizabeth's quotation of Keller as a kind of negative example of the "spirit of the Anabaptists."¹³

Guy F. Hershberger was present at the creation of the Anabaptist research focus at Goshen. He came to Goshen to teach in the fall of 1925 and was one of the founders of the **Mennonite Quarterly Review** and the Mennonite Historical Society. His field was American history (his dissertation was on the Quakers in Pennsylvania in the Colonial period). In the 1930's Bender as chair of the Mennonite Church's Peace Problems Committee authorized Hershberger to prepare a manuscript on nonresistance. For a variety of reasons the work was not completed until late 1943 (Hershberger wrote the preface in February 1944).

It is significant that two Mennonite classics, Hershberger's *War, Peace, and Nonresistance* and Bender's "The Anabaptist Vision," were being written during the fall of 1943 at Goshen. Bender read Hershberger's manuscript during late 1943 in preparation for its printing under the auspices of the Peace Problems Committee. Almost certainly Harold borrowed his opening quotation in the Vision, not from the original source, (Rufus Jones, *Studies In Mystical Religion*, 1909), but from Hershberger's *War, Peace, and Nonresistance*, page 305. It is also interesting that before the book went to the printers in early 1944 Hershberger completed his notating by citing *The Anabaptist Vision*, (from **Church History** and the **Mennonite Quarterly Review**) five times as authority for his statements in the text and in his bibliographies.¹⁴

John Horsch was Harold Bender's father-in-law. In the 1920's and 1930's

it was helpful to Harold to be John Horsch's son-in-law. It was a thin cover from conservative criticism, but it was a cover, nevertheless. Harold and John Horsch had a congenial relationship. Harold had a high regard for Horsch's scholarship, while wincing sometimes at his father-in-law's use of rhetorical sledgehammers in the heat of theological and historical combat. John Horsch died in October 1941 leaving the almost completed manuscript for **Mennonites In Europe**. Edward Yoder completed the editing and prepared it for publication.

Bender, as secretary of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, proofread the completed manuscript, probably early in 1942. In five instances he borrows quotations from Anabaptist sources quoted in Horsch.¹⁵ He also uses Anabaptist source quotations from articles Horsch wrote for the **Mennonite Quarterly Review** during the 1930's.¹⁶ But the key term in the Vision, discipleship, never appears in **Mennonites In Europe**. Harold Bender borrowed heavily from his father-in-law, but he was also forging ahead into a new framework. Comparing **Mennonites In Europe** and *The Anabaptist Vision* is to compare two eras, one representing the previous 30 years; the other the next 30 years.

Another formative influence on Bender's Anabaptist understandings arrived at Goshen College in July, 1940, in the person of Robert Friedmann. The 49-year-old Friedmann, a Jewish Christian refugee from Vienna, quickly became Harold's best friend and closest collaborator in Anabaptist studies and research. Harold Bender brought Friedmann to Goshen to help organize and catalog the Mennonite Historical Library collection. The roughly 2,500 volumes of the Historical Library had just been brought to the basement floor of the new Memorial library and piled on stacks all over the floor. It was Friedmann's task to identify and catalog the collection, something he was eminently capable of and eager to do. More than anyone else, Friedmann would turn Harold's mind toward the search for the essence of Anabaptism.

Formative for Bender's emerging Anabaptist Vision was Friedmann's writing. Before being forced out of Vienna by the Nazi's, Friedmann had begun a study of the relationship

TOLERANZ UND OFFENBARUNG

EINE UNTERSUCHUNG
DER MOTIVE UND MOTIVFORMEN DER TOLERANZ
IM OFFENBARUNGGLÄUBIGEN PROTESTANTISMUS

ZUGLEICH

EIN VERSUCH
ZUR NEUEREN RELIGION- UND GEISTESGESCHICHTE

VON

JOHANNES KÜHN

1923

*Johannes Kühn's 1923 **Toleranz und Offenbarung** gave Anabaptism equal rank with other church movements in history, and highlighted five types of Protestantism, the third type being "der täuferischen Nachfolge," Anabaptist discipleship. Both Friedmann and Bender would have read him.*

between Anabaptism and Pietism. In 1940 he published a two-part series in the **Mennonite Quarterly Review** which summarized his findings. Of necessity he had to determine the essence of Anabaptism in order to compare it with Pietism. The essential difference Friedmann believed to lie in the Anabaptist stress on "Nachfolge Christi," which he translated discipleship. "Following Christ (Nachfolge Christi) that is a central word of the Anabaptists..." he wrote. "...this concept of discipleship demands a great and voluntary obedience in thought and deed..."¹⁷

Even more important was Friedmann's essay published in **Church History** in 1940. The essay was entitled "Conception of The Anabaptists."¹⁸ In The Anabaptist Vision essay, Bender followed that article more closely than any other. Friedmann began the article by describing what Anabaptists did not stand for. They were not "Schwärmer" as labelled by Luther. They were not eschatological rebels. They were not antitrinitarians. Nor could they be defined by what Roland Bainton called "Left Wing Protestantism." (Bainton was writing the article so captioned at

the same time as Friedmann was writing his, and he let Friedmann see it before publication.) Bainton stressed adult baptism and separation of church and state as the key marks of the "Left Wing."¹⁹

At the center of Friedmann's essay was a review of **Toleranz und Offenbarung** by Johannes Kühn published in 1923. Whether Bender read Kühn during his year at Tübingen is not known, but there is evidence that he may have. Friedmann argued that Kühn for the first time gave Anabaptism "equal rank" with other church movements in history, and Kühn highlighted five types of Protestantism. The third type Kühn identified as "täuferische Nachfolge," Anabaptist discipleship.

"Nachfolge," Friedmann believed, means to live in the spirit of the Gospel. In essence discipleship means love and the cross. Love meant brotherhood, social community, and even as in the Hutterites, community of goods. But love often led to the cross. Suffering thus becomes the unavoidable fate of the true Christian on earth. Kühn, claimed Friedmann, had delineated the essence of Anabaptism. Bender would have read this essay and certainly discussed it at length with Friedmann, who was laboring to get Goshen College's historical library organized.

In 1942 Friedmann read an address at the Mennonite Cultural Conference entitled "The Anabaptist Genius And Its Influence On Mennonites Today." The point of the article was that in the crisis of World War II, Mennonites could benefit from what he called the "old" spirit of the fathers. Friedmann's main point will become a key point in The Anabaptist Vision; that the reformers stopped, as Friedmann put it, "halfway." They failed to follow their convictions to the end. Unlike the reformers, Friedmann argued, the Anabaptists pursued the intent of the Reformation to its conclusion and the results were what he called "a Christian revolution."²⁰

The Anabaptist Vision and History

The Anabaptist Vision has been criticized as a one-dimensional description of Anabaptism. Bender's mind liked sharply drawn silhouettes.

So did his contemporary Mennonites. Searching for the essence of a thing is of necessity an exercise in simplification. Bender's Anabaptist Vision was such an exercise, and is both its strength and weakness.

Kenneth Davis has commented that Bender did not give much credence to other than religious factors as explanations for Anabaptism. To a large degree that was a product of his own research, focused as it was on Conrad Grebel and the Swiss Brethren. Economic, political and sociological phenomena were not in the range of his work. He was quite interested in such matters, but in his relatively narrow-focused research he had neither the time nor the training to pursue such concerns. The Swiss Brethren material he had mastered was virtually all religious. Kenneth Davis believes Bender used the theological and historical material at his disposal with great skill. But he did not nuance the implications very successfully.²¹

Recent historians of Anabaptism have disputed Bender's assertion that Anabaptism was simply the "culmination" of the Reformation. Walter Klaassen's **Anabaptism: Neither Catholic Nor Protestant** (1973) is a case in point. Bender found the "culmination of the Reformation" argument attractive for two reasons. It helped give Anabaptism legitimacy in the eyes of academic historians, and in the Vision Bender predicted that it was "destined to dominate the field."

In the second place, it pleased contemporary Mennonites, nonresistants uneasy in the midst of a world war. Being the heirs of principled reformers rather than religious heretics was good news. Mennonites were reassured; they were also Protestants, though with a difference.

Denny Weaver has helpfully pointed out that Bender believed in the popularly held "tripartite division of history." There was an original "golden" age, followed by a "dark" age. The third stage is the era of the "recovery" of the qualities of the original age. Bender's portrait of the Swiss Brethren in the Vision is of such a golden era. The Swiss Brethren were pristine biblicists and heroic martyrs (the Vision has a long section on their heroism as a persecuted minority).

The obvious point of the Vision for Bender's people is the need and the

opportunity to recapture the original vitality of Anabaptism.²² There is a vast amount of commentary on The Anabaptist Vision, much of it revisionist in nature. It is not possible in the scope of this essay to review that material.²³

Concluding Comments

Where did Bender get his title? In his previous writing he hardly ever used the term "Vision." But the success of the essay must have impressed him, for by October, 1944, in his brief inaugural address as the new dean of the Goshen College Bible School he will use the term vision frequently. The title of the essay, "The Anabaptist Vision," was certainly felicitous. Ponder such titles as "The Anabaptist Idea," or "The Essence of Anabaptism," or even "The Spirit Of Anabaptism." I doubt that Harold Bender spent much time searching for a "marketable" title. But the title captures, in a profound way, both the spirit and the content of the essay.

It has been the purpose of this paper to reenact the writing of The Anabaptist Vision essay. In 1943 Harold Bender was ready to write The Anabaptist Vision. But it might well have become just another forgotten American Society of Church History presidential address. It was not forgotten because the times were ripe for its message and meaning. Another paper will be needed to describe that fullness of time. *✠*

Albert N. Keim, professor of history at Eastern Mennonite College in Virginia, is writing a biography of Harold S. Bender. The above essay is the text of an address Keim gave to the Mennonite Church Historical Association meeting July 29, 1993, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹ Minutes of the Fifty-Fifth Consecutive Meeting of the American Society of **Church History**, December 28-29, 1943, *Church History* (March, 1944), 56-69.

² Information on these events came from correspondence between H.S. Bender and E.R. Hardy, Jr., Box 17; Matthew Spinka, Box 22; Thomas C. Pears, Jr., Box 11; and Ernst Correll, Box 15; Harold S. Bender Collection,

Archives of the Mennonite Church (AMC).

³ H.S. Bender to E.R. Hardy, Jr., December 16, 1943, Box 17, Harold S. Bender Collection, AMC.

⁴ Leonard Gross, "Conversations with Elizabeth Bender," **Mennonite Historical Bulletin**, (July, 1986), 6.

⁵ Stanley Shenk journal, entry for December 30, 1991, Goshen, Indiana, AMC.

⁶ H.S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," **Church History** (March, 1943), 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹² H.S. Bender to Ernst Correll, April 21, 1944, Box 15, Harold S. Bender Collection, AMC.

¹³ Elizabeth Horsch Bender, "The Portrayal of the Swiss Anabaptists in Gottfried Keller's *Ursula*," **Mennonite Quarterly Review** (July, 1943), 137.

¹⁴ See Hershberger (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1944), 87, 201, 301, 305, 307, 311.

¹⁵ See Horsch, **Mennonites In Europe** (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1942), 325, 293, 298, 297, 318.

¹⁶ See Horsch, **Mennonite Quarterly Review** (January, 1938), 7; 2 (July, 1932), 190; 2 (July, 1934), 135.

¹⁷ Robert Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Pietism, II," **Mennonite Quarterly Review** (July, 1940), 157.

¹⁸ Robert Friedmann, "Conception of the Anabaptists," **Church History** (December, 1940), 341-364.

¹⁹ Roland Bainton, "The Left Wing of the Reformation," **Journal of Religion** (1941) 124-134.

²⁰ Robert Friedmann, "The Anabaptist Genius and Its Influence on Mennonites Today," **Proceedings of the First Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems**, Winona Lake, Indiana (August 7-8, 1942), 20-25.

²¹ Kenneth Davis, "Vision and Revision In Anabaptist Historiography: Perceptual Tensions In a Broadening Synthesis Or Alien Idealization?", **Mennonite Quarterly Review** (July, 1979), 200-208.

²² J. Denny Weaver, "The Anabaptist Vision: From Recovery to Reform," **Mennonite Life** (September, 1982), 14-16.

²³ The author has collected some 30 articles and books which in one way or another critically analyze The Anabaptist Vision thesis.

One Hundred Years of Old Order Mennonite Church Community

By Jean-Paul Benowitz

October 6, 1993, marks the one hundredth anniversary of the excommunication of Bishop Jonas Martin by the Lancaster Mennonite Conference and the consequential establishment of the Old Order within the Mennonite Church. The term Old Order Mennonite is an unofficial and unspecific designation for present-day Mennonites retaining theological and cultural characteristics of Mennonites during the nineteenth century. Hence, many historians consider Old Order Mennonites as a nineteenth-century group.

The Old Orders, however, think of themselves as maintaining the original understanding of Mennonite identity. In their view, the contemporary Mennonite Church is a more acculturated group. This perspective is valuable in understanding how the Old Order developed in nineteenth century America and the genius behind its persistence.

Many nineteenth-century Americans held in common a shared cultural legacy based on evangelical Protestantism. In the decades following the Civil War cultural divisions threatened this legacy. A restructuring of societal foundations occurred, particularly the function of religion as a vehicle imposing social and cultural change on marginal groups in society came to the forefront.¹

Religion was also challenged by the theories of Darwin, Marx, and Freud. These innovations and challenges to the status quo provoked reactions, which in turn hastened the formation of orthodoxy within Judaism, Catholicism, and Protestantism.²

During the late nineteenth-century most Mennonites attempted to live in alternative communities of faith, by being separated from the world, but the winds of change did not escape them.³ Events that challenged the traditional view of the Mennonite community created an orthodox movement within the American Mennonite churches in the form of



Groffdale Old Order Mennonite meetinghouse located near Bareville, Pennsylvania, was built in 1895, two years after the Jonas Martin schism among the Lancaster Conference Mennonites. The conference affiliation (MC) and date of building (1910) of the this Old Order meetinghouse is incorrectly designated in Mennonite Encyclopedia (1955, Vol. I, P. 11). Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

what is called the "Old Order."

Mainline Protestant innovations entered into Mennonite communities throughout the nineteenth century. These innovations included such things as the Sunday school, evangelistic revival meetings, singing schools, missionary work, and legal relationships between church and state. In most cases, Old Order Mennonites did not criticize the value of such institutions, but feared a compromise with Anabaptist principles if they cooperated with Protestant groups. Sunday schools placed an emphasis on child conversion instead of the nurturing experience and adult decision making characteristic of Anabaptist theology.⁴

Revival meetings and missionary efforts presented emotional messages that stressed sin and salvation, inviting individuals to repentance and acceptance of salvation. Mennonites viewed this approach as being a too aggressive.⁵ Singing schools and the new music generated from Sunday schools would replace the slow

monophonic tunes characteristic of singing from the **Ausbund**. Sunday school music spoke of grace and heaven, not of nonresistance and nonconformity.⁶

There was also a constituency among this group that supported these new innovations and saw them as an opportunity to tailor such programs to an Anabaptist agenda. Bishop John F. Funk, of Elkhart, Indiana attempted to do this through publishing monthly Sunday school lessons in the **Herald of Truth**, in 1873. This eventually developed into **The Herald Series of Sunday School Lessons**, and in 1880 Sunday school text books were published as **Question Books**.⁷

Bishop Isaac Eby of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was instrumental in starting the first Sunday school of the Lancaster Conference in the Paradise and Hershey congregations in 1887. During this period church membership doubled and missionary endeavors followed.⁸ Bishop Lewis J. Heatwole of Harrisonburg, Virginia,

was a proponent of Sunday schools in the Middle District of the Virginia Conference and the evangelistic work of John S. Coffman which began in 1881.⁹

Each of these moderately progressive bishops were challenged by colleagues that viewed the acceptance of innovations from Protestant churches as forms of religious, cultural assimilation, and as a compromise with Anabaptism. Bishop Jacob Wisler from the Indiana Conference led the first Old Order division in 1872. His reasons were similar to those outlined by Jacob Stauffer in his 1855 work, *Eine Chronik oder Geschichte-Büchlein von der sogenannten Mennonisten Gemeinde*.¹¹

Stauffer had attempted to lead a division from the Lancaster Conference in 1845. Wisler specifically attacked the institution of the Sunday school. The most successful Old Order schism occurred in 1893, led by Bishop Jonas Martin of the Weaverland District of the Lancaster Conference, in which one-third of the conference broke away.¹² The last Old Order division of this era occurred in the Middle District of the Virginia Conference under the direction of Gabriel Heatwole in 1901.¹³

As innovations from Protestant churches penetrated Mennonite churches, Mennonites became polarized between their leaders as a progressive and conservative spectrum developed over these issues. The Old Order movement developed out of conservative reactions to the challenges of a traditional structuring of Mennonite communities. Progressives often promoted the new methods as a form of revitalizing the passive church community.

Conservatives, however, were more suspicious of the innovations. They did not resist these innovations simply because they were new. In fact, they made many changes in the content and structure of their communities. But they did resist change when it threatened their underlying understanding of an Anabaptist church.¹⁴

Resistance to Protestant acculturation was very well accentuated in the case of Jonas Martin and the 1893 schism with Lancaster Conference. During the Fall sessions of the Lancaster Conference, which were held at the Mellinger Mennonite

Meetinghouse on October 6, 1893, Bishop Martin was stripped of his ministry and expelled from the conference and his congregation.¹⁵

Three reasons were presented as being responsible for the excommunication of Bishop Martin. These charges were, that contrary to the Conference, Bishop Martin had opposed a legal charter that the Kauffman congregation had taken out to help govern its property. Bishop Martin also refused to accept a Conference decision allowing ordained men to preform marriages of non-members. Bishop Martin's attitudes and actions against the Sunday school were perceived as being inappropriate. The Conference delegated the progressive leaders Bishop Isaac Eby and John K. Brubaker to announce the decision of Bishop Martin's excommunication to the Weaverland congregation.

Following these events Bishop Martin held a service for his followers where he baptized 22 new members. Services were then held at the Weaverland meetinghouse beginning on October 22, 1893, the off-Sunday in the pattern of every other Sunday services.¹⁶ Thus, the Weaverland Conference was established and emerged as a role model for other Old Order Mennonites in other communities. The doctrinal foundations and church structure for the Old Order was developed in the 1872 Wisler Indiana division, consequently Old Orders consider themselves, "Wisler Mennonites." The actual structuring of the Old Order Church and community has come from the leadership of Bishop Martin and the Weaverland Conference.

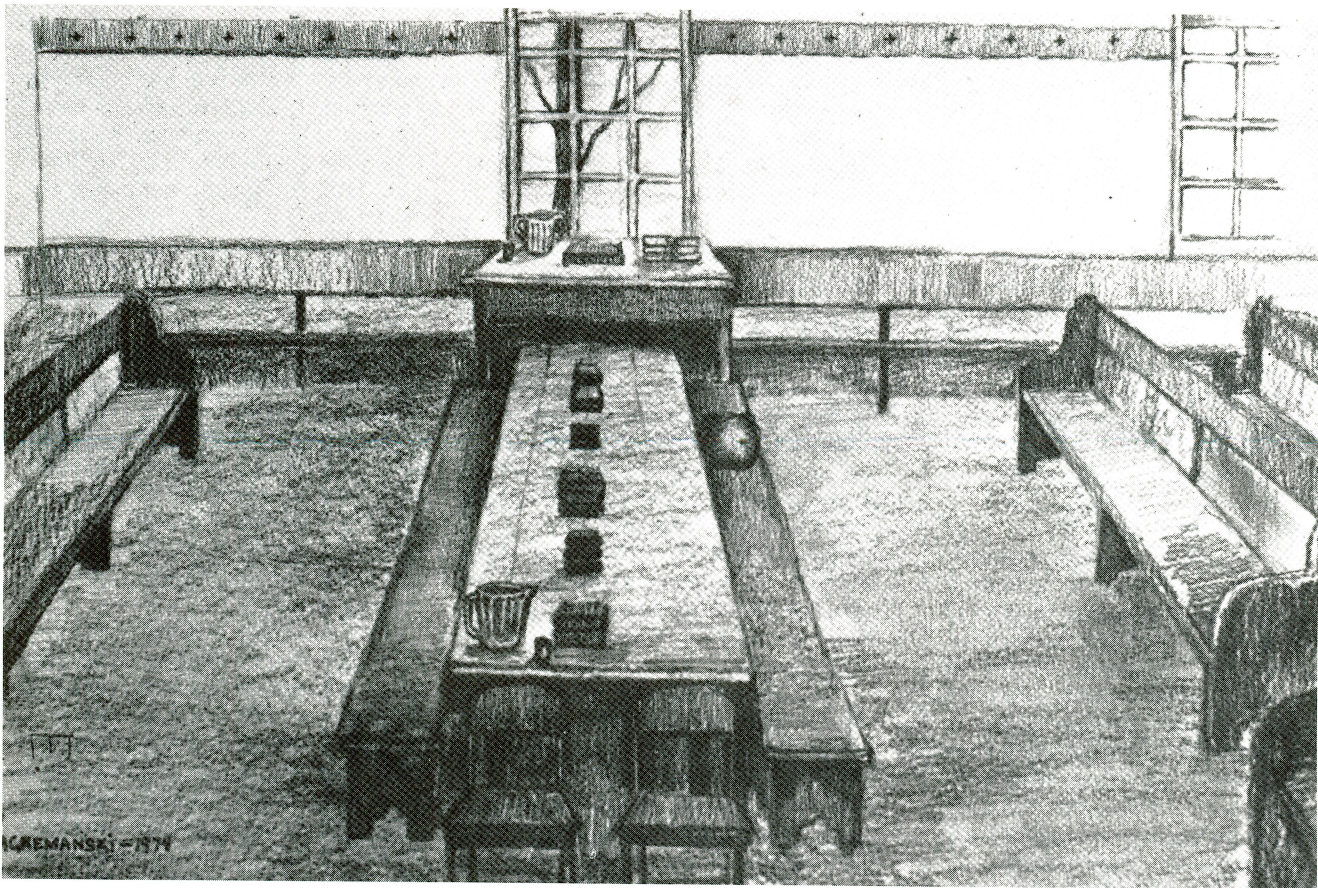
The first charge the conference made against Bishop Martin in his excommunication was an example of this tension between progressive and conservative responses to church structure: the Kauffman meetinghouse charter. In 1886 a wealthy politician in Lancaster County willed a large amount of money to the work of the Kauffman congregation. In order to obtain the money it was necessary to take out a legal charter. Bishop Martin viewed this as a compromise with the Mennonite understanding of avoiding legal arrangements and feared that the church would become a legal institution of society which would redefine the church community.¹⁷

A related issue was the meaning of the architecture of Lichty's meetinghouse. In 1889 the building committee of the new Lichty's meetinghouse in the Spring Grove community, decided to replace the preacher's table with a raised pulpit.¹⁸ The building committee argued that this was necessary since their minister John Zimmerman had only one arm and needed a high stand for his Bible. Jonas Martin maintained that the raised pulpit redefined the symbolism of the relationship of the minister as a servant to the congregation. With this architectural innovation, the minister would be raised above his people. He also pointed out that the Lichty building committee rejected a building site where the deed contained a clause forbidding Sunday schools and evening meetings.¹⁹

On September 26, 1889, on the evening before the dedication service, some members entered the new Lichty meetinghouse, removed the raised pulpit, and replaced it with a plain table. The next morning Bishop Martin preached a sermon and led the service without commenting on the obvious alterations to the room. In 1890 Bishop Martin excommunicated seven members who verbally supported the raised pulpit and four more members then withdrew from the church.²⁰

In the spring of 1892 the Lancaster Conference rebuked Bishop Martin for being too harsh. The conference allowed the proponents of the pulpit to make a public confession of their error and be reinstated. Bishop Martin was asked by the Conference to reconcile with his opponents. Until this was corrected he was not allowed to officiate in the scheduled communion services.²¹

The issue of officiating at the marriage of non-members was an ongoing debate on how marriage was a civic as well as a church matter, thus putting Mennonite ministers in an active civic role. One of the issues surrounding Bishop Martin's excommunication was his refusal to preform marriages between unbaptized sons and daughters of Mennonite families. The Lancaster Conference had remained silent on this issue until the fall of 1892 when it gave permission for ministers to marry non-members.²² Bishop Martin held to the position of his mentor and the man he had succeeded as bishop, George Weaver.



Interior of the Springville Mennonite meetinghouse near Ephrata, Pennsylvania. The Old Order Mennonites maintained an architectural design of a preacher's table (along the wall) and the singer's table in the foreground. On the Sunday in 1974 when Hedy Pagremanski drew this sketch, two chairs were placed in front of the singers' table for interpreters for the deaf. Drawing: The Jonas Martin Era, page 47

Bishop Weaver had written a determined statement against the marriage of non-members because he viewed this as violating separation from the world.²³ Bishop Martin would not preform a marriage for non-members and sent such couples to Bishop Isaac Eby.²⁴

Sunday school had already existed in Bishop Martin's district in 1891. A businessman, Samuel Musselman, served as superintendent for many years and eventually he worked with midwestern Mennonites who promoted missions.²⁵ Perhaps Jonas Martin perceived Musselman and the Sunday school as a threat to influencing the church toward Protestant ideology. Many of Bishop Martin's contemporaries who did not support the Sunday school argued that the responsibility for teaching the Bible was a parental duty of the home. The Sunday school relieved parents of this responsibility,

and Sunday school teachers were utilizing curriculum produced by Calvinistic and militaristic Protestant groups.²⁶

Sunday schools were an expression not only of popular churches who supported war, ostentation, and other evils, but also the American nation. Sunday schools ignored the Anabaptist principle of the kingdom of God being on earth in the form of the church. To some Protestants, God's Kingdom was a future place in heaven, and they did not have an understanding of a two-kingdom theology.²⁷ Sunday school promoted nationalism and patriotism which interfered with the two-kingdom mentality. Jonas Martin and others recognized that Sunday schools were drawing members' loyalties away, thus competing with a Mennonite understanding of Biblical faith.

The Jonas Martin Old Order

Mennonite Church in the form of the Weaverland Conference was a response to cultural and religious assimilation. These Mennonites believed the cultural legacy of evangelical Protestantism was not compatible with the Anabaptist principles of discipleship, community, and non-resistance.

However, another conflict arose within the Weaverland Conference at the time of Bishop Martin's death in 1926. A schism occurred in 1927 when conservative members supported Preacher Joseph O. Wenger who rejected the ownership of automobiles by church members. Wenger became the bishop of the Groffdale Conference which utilizes horse drawn transportation.

The progressive constituency remained with Bishop Moses G. Horning who favored the ownership of automobiles with the stipulation


that they be totally black in color. This group has been known as the "Horning Mennonites," but are officially the Weaverland Conference.²⁸ These churches are distinct communions although they are often grouped together by outsiders as Old Orders.

Stephen Scott of The People's Place in Intercourse, Pennsylvania, who is writing a book on the Old Order and conservative Mennonites places membership of all the Old Order Mennonite Churches in North America at 16,898. The largest number of meetinghouses and biggest membership is in Pennsylvania and Ontario but a number also live in Indiana, Virginia, and Ohio. The Old Order groups have also been spreading out to new communities such as Kentucky, Missouri, New York and Wisconsin.

Old Order Mennonites do not maintain an orthodoxy based primarily on theology but rather on the social structuring of an Anabaptist community. The difference between progressive Mennonites and Old Order Mennonites is their interpretation of the outward expression of any particular understanding of doctrine. Resistance to the encroachment of American mainstream culture has been characterized as nonconformity. Traditionally, the Old Order Mennonites have been contained within an agricultural setting. Although some groups farm with horses, others utilize tractors and mechanized farm equipment. Other concessions to acculturation include the telephone and electricity.²⁹

Such strict physical symbols of nonconformity are not embraced by progressive and contemporary Mennonites. Yet the desire to resist American mainline culture, to practice discipleship, build community, and live nonresistant lives is still alive among progressive Mennonites. Setting aside the stereotypes and looking beyond the tangible symbols of a nineteenth-century lifestyle, contemporary Mennonites can learn from Old Order Mennonites how to cope with secularism and civil religion in the ongoing debate and quest to make two-kingdom Anabaptist theology a reality.

The past 100 years of Old Order growth and sustainment proves that

there are new ideas to be discovered through working with the Old Order Mennonites. 

Jean-Paul Benowitz of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is in a doctoral program in history at Temple University. He recently completed a Masters thesis ("Community and Conflict: The Structuring of the Old Order Mennonite Church in Virginia") at the Millersville University.

¹ William L. Barney, **The Passage of the Republic: An Interdisciplinary History of Nineteenth Century America** (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1987), 109, 197-198, 355, 381.

² Sydeny E. Ahlstrom, **A Religious History of the American People**, 2 vols. (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1975), 477-481. Mark A. Noll, **A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada** (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 344-362.

³ James Juhnke, **Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930** (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1990), 24-25.

⁴ Beulah Hostetler, **American Mennonites and Protestant Movements: A Community Paradigm** (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1987), 151.

⁵ John M. Brenneman, **Pride and Humility: A Discourse, Setting Forth the Characteristics of the Proud and the Humble** (Elkhart: John F. Funk, 1867), 19-21.

⁶ Beulah Hostetler, "The Formation of the Old Orders," **Mennonite Quarterly Review**, (January, 1992): 17-19.

⁷ Martin G. Weaver, **Mennonites of Lancaster Conference** (Scottsdale: Mennonite Publishing House, 1931), 279, 385.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁹ Lewis J. Heatwole to Perry Shank and Israel Rohrer Jr., September 30, 1896, Lewis J. Heatwole correspondence, Weaver family collection, Harrisonburg, Va.

¹⁰ John C. Wenger, **The Mennonites in Indiana and Michigan** (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1961), 24-25.

¹¹ In this work Stauffer defends the status quo of the Mennonite Church and accuses progressive Mennonites of

assimilating with "worldly churches."

¹² M. G. Weaver, 58.

¹³ **Church Record Book**, compiled by Lewis J. Heatwole, March 31, 1901, 291-292.

¹⁴ Sandra Lee Cronk, "Gelassenheit: The Rites of the Redemptive Process in Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite Communities," **Mennonite Quarterly Review** (April, 1978): 185.

¹⁵ Amos B. Hoover, **The Jonas Martin Era** (Denver, Pa.: The Author, 1982), 800.

¹⁶ M. G. Weaver, 387.

¹⁷ [Ira D. Landis] "David Kauffman (1770-1846)," **Mennonite Research Journal** (July, 1968): 27, 33. "Charter of the Kauffman Mennonite Meetinghouse Association of the Manhiem District," in Amos B. Hoover, 782-785.

¹⁸ Amos B. Hoover, 591-593.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 591-92, 606-07.

²⁰ John C. Wenger, "Anecdotes from Mennonite History: A Tragic Error in Discipline," **Mennonite Reporter** (May 15, 1978): 823; newspaper clippings in Amos B. Hoover, 785-89.

²¹ Eli D. Wenger, **The Weaverland Mennonites: 1766-1968** (Manhiem, Pa.: The Author, 1968), 28.

²² Theron F. Schlabach, **Peace, Faith, Nation: Amish and Mennonites in Nineteenth Century America** (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1988), 226.

²³ Amos B. Hoover, 622, 624.

²⁴ Isaac Eby to Jonas Martin, November 10, 1892, in Amos B. Hoover, 155.

²⁵ M. G. Weaver, 237, 385.

²⁶ B. S. Hostetler, 18.

²⁷ Timothy L. Smith, **Revivalism and Social Reform** (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1957), 7.

²⁸ Emma Hurst, **Moses G. Horning and the Old Order Divisions in Pennsylvania** (Harrisonburg, Va.: Eastern Mennonite College, 1960), 7-8.

²⁹ Amos Hoover, David Miller, Leonard Freeman, "The Old Order Mennonites," in **The Mennonite World Handbook**, ed. Paul N. Kraybill (Lombard, Ill.: Mennonite World Conference, 1978), 380.

Keeping the Old Order Mennonite Memory

By Jean-Paul Benowitz

As a rule Old Order Mennonites do not express their faith verbally nor are they interested in articulating their perspective and opinion on issues. For Old Order Mennonites, religious life is patterned and imbibed rather than discussed. Consequently, it has been effectively passed on from generation to generation, for the emphasis is on living, not just preaching. Deacon Amos (Burkholder) Hoover and his wife, Nora (Martin) are the exception to this Old Order rule.

The Hoovers are both articulate and self-educated individuals who have established and administer the Muddy Creek Farm Library in Denver, Pennsylvania. On a rather secluded farm in northeastern Lancaster County, the Hoovers have an extensive collection of rare Anabaptist and Reformation-Era volumes, books focusing on Mennonite studies particularly focusing on Old Order Mennonites, periodicals published by or about Mennonites, genealogies, and dissertations dealing with the Old Order.

In addition to their literary collection, they have an impressive

collection of Mennonite artifacts from around the world. There is an extensive, rare archival collection of correspondence that documents each of the Old Order schisms in the Mennonite experience.

The Hoovers moved onto their farm in 1955, one year after they were married. After Amos completed a high school correspondence course, his next academic project was a family history of the Burkholders. This genealogy was published in 1957 as a joint effort with his wife and was funded by his uncles, David and Adam Burkholder. Next, a Martin family history was published by the Hoovers in 1961. Through this project they met Ira D. Landis (1899-1977) who introduced them to various resources in their research.

Exposure to new resources and research projects led to a small collection of books concerning general histories and Mennonite studies. Patronage of the Provident Bookstore book auctions added a new dimension of rare books to the Hoover library. I. Clarence Kulp, a Brethren historian from Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, advised Amos to record everything that he had learned from his grandfather, David Burkholder (1876-1962). Since Burkholder was no longer living, Amos began to interview and record the oral traditions and history of his grandfather Deacon Benjamin F. Hoover (1874-1965).

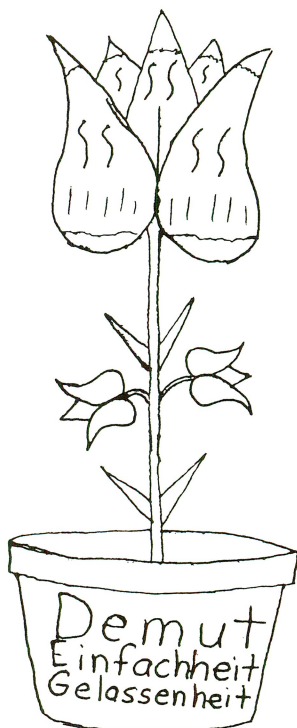
Amos has recorded hundreds of oral interviews into several journals that contain the Old Order Mennonite historical tradition. Gathering this information has been and continues to be a lifelong endeavor. His parents, Amos (Nolt) (1902-1934) and Ella (Kurtz) Burkholder (1900-1937) Hoover, both died while he was an infant. He was raised by his grandparents Deacon David and Ida (Kurtz) (1879-1945) Burkholder of the Weaverland Conference.

This arrangement created tension in the family since the Hoovers were of

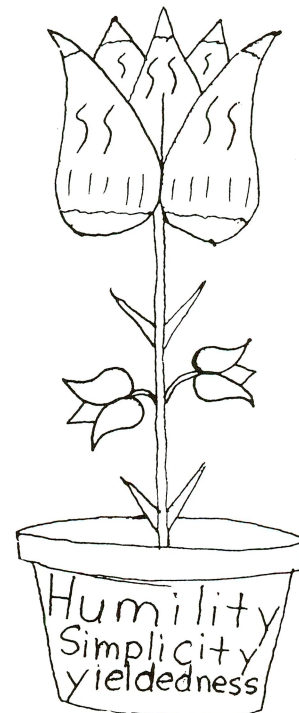
the Groffdale Conference. Amos was the youngest child and was separated from his older siblings. His quest to learn more about his parents and the Hoover family led him to constantly interviewing his siblings and relatives. Amos began his collection of oral histories through these investigations.

As an adolescent, Amos lived with his Lancaster Conference uncle, Titus Burkholder of the Martindale Congregation. During this time Amos had a school teacher who was an excellent story teller and teacher of history. Amos attributes his interest in history to these early experiences. Through his exposure to the Lancaster Conference, he developed an interest in attending Eastern Mennonite College. In addition to his academic interests, Amos wanted to travel abroad.

Upon completing his formal education, he returned to live with his grandfather Burkholder and worked in the butcher shop and grocery store owned by the grandfather and managed by his uncles. It was here that he took an interest in going to Europe because the local community had organized a privately funded relief program for Mennonites in Germany, and the Burkholder store



*Drawings from the frontispiece of Amos B. Hoover's magnum opus, **The Jonas Martin Era**, a one thousand one hundred twenty-eight-page volume of oral and written memory.*



became the center of this operation. Amos' uncles also worked with relief efforts sponsored by the Mennonite Central Committee.


Grandfather Burkholder did not encourage Amos to go to Eastern Mennonite College but allowed him to finish high school through correspondence classes. Amos taught himself to read and write in German through sending letters with relief packages from the Burkholder store. One pen pal continues to write to Hoover even 40 years later. Weaverland Mennonites did not do alternative service abroad but served in neighboring communities. Amos wanted to become involved in PAX service, but his grandfather disapproved. Consequently, he and his sons purchased the farm where Amos continues to live today.

The Hoovers have raised ten children among the volumes of books scattered in bookshelves and in boxes at various locations throughout the farm house. After four trips to Europe and increasing their rare book and artifact collections, in 1979 the Hoovers built the Muddy Creek Farm Library as an addition to the farm house. The basement level contains the artifacts displayed in museum fashion and the upper level houses the numerous volumes, publications, and an office. On January 19, 1980, fifty people attended an Eastern Mennonite Association of Libraries and Archives meeting in the Muddy Creek Farm Library. This meeting served as a dedication for the facility. John L. Ruth of Harleysville, Pennsylvania, preached a sermon and concluded with II Timothy 4:13: "Bring with thee the books, but especially the parchments." This verse has served as the library motto and appears on the letterhead.

Leroy Beachy of Berlin, Ohio, gave a presentation at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society quarterly meeting on September 2, 1974, entitled: "A Tear for Jacob Amman." The thesis of this presentation was that Mennonite historians are not sympathetic in their perception and writings about Amman and the Amish. Amos found a common ground with Beachy as he noted that the same was true of Old Order Mennonite studies. Amos has been a consultant on the vast majority of materials written about Old Order Mennonites. He has justified the

history and ideology of Old Order Mennonites in articles written in the unofficial Weaverland Conference newspaper.

Hoover's magnum opus has been **The Jonas Martin Era** (1982). Prior to completing these projects, Amos had published a facsimile of the 1736 Christoffel Froschouer Bible in 1975. Amos has been instrumental in locating and purchasing the remaining Jan Luyken copper plates used in the **Martyrs Mirror** in 1977. He authored an article which appeared in the **Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage** (January, 1978), about locating the plates. In the same periodical he also published an article about the Hutterites of North America. An article, about Jonas Martin was published in **Pennsylvania Folk Life**. Amos co-authored an essay explaining Old Order Mennonite groups in the 1978 edition of the **Mennonite World Handbook** and in 1984 wrote a supplement to the 1931 work of Martin G. Weaver, **Mennonites of the Lancaster Conference**. In 1992 the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society published his translation of Bishop Jacob Stauffer's 1855, **Eine Chronik oder Geschicht-Büchlein von der sogenannten Mennonisten Gemeinde**.

Historians are the high priests of memory. Certainly Amos B. Hoover has fulfilled this position in preserving both memory and oral tradition in his valuable journals, letter collections, archives, library, museum, and published works. 

News and Notes

An Anabaptist Vision European study tour is being planned by Conrad Grebel College and TourMagination for June 20-July 8, 1994. Led by Rodney Sawatsky, Conrad Grebel president, and John L. Ruth, Franconia writer and storyteller, the tour will include eight papers read by European and North American historians such as Sjouke Voolstra, Werner Packull, and Arnold Snyder. Special emphasis will be given to discussing the contemporary meanings of sixteenth-century Anabaptism. For more information contact Arnold Cressman, the coordinator, at 800 296 6789.

J.C. A Life Sketch is a limited edition 300-copy autobiography of John C. Wenger who served on the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church for 28 years. The publication is a tribute to the historical contribution of Wenger and a fundraiser for the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church. Information will be sent to members of the Mennonite Church Historical Association in the year-end report.

Herman and Gertrud Guth, Willard H. Smith, and Paton Yoder will be honored at the "Tradition and Transition: An Amish Mennonite Heritage of Obedience" Conference, October 14-16, 1993, at Metamora, Illinois. The Guths have done extensive genealogical research on European Amish and Mennonite origins. Smith, a native son of the Illinois Amish Mennonites, became an authority on William Jennings Bryan and wrote the comprehensive history, **Mennonites in Illinois** (1983). Yoder has discovered and translated a number of significant nineteenth-century Amish documents which have resulted in publications.

John L. Ruth will be the guest speaker at the Fall meeting of the Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario on November 6 at Conrad Grebel College. He will discuss his research on the long-awaited Lancaster Conference history.

A meeting of church-based historians is planned for October 20-22, 1994, at the MeetingHouse of the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania. The theme will be on the Mennonite women's experience in North America.

The 1993 J. Winfield Fretz Award winner of the historical contest sponsored by the Ontario Mennonite Historical Society was Krista Taves, University of Waterloo, with the paper, "The Reunification of Russian Mennonites in Post-World War II Canada." Second and third places went to two Conrad Grebel College students: Lorilyn Smith for a biography of Ruth Nighswander Smith, and Karen Baird with "An Examination of Mennonite Aid to Refugees in the Kitchener-Waterloo Area from 1979-1992." 

Conviction and Fragmentation Among the Oregon Mennonites

By Russell Krabill

Apart and Together Mennonites in Oregon and Neighboring States 1876—1976. Hope Kauffman Lind. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1990. Pp. 413. \$26.95.

When I told a former Oregon pastor that I was reviewing this book, he replied, "I wish I could have read that book before I went to serve in Oregon. It would have given me much help." After reading the book, I could understand why he said that.

Hope Kauffman Lind comes well qualified for the task of putting together this comprehensive historical document. She graduated from Hesston College (1955) and Eastern Mennonite College (1957) and moved to Oregon in 1960. Beginning in 1974 she served as the Pacific Coast Conference historian for 18 years. In 1988, she initiated the Oregon Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society and became its first chair. She and her husband, Clifford, live in Eugene, Oregon, and are the parents of four children.

The book reflects an enormous amount of research and is divided into three parts:

Part I. A geographical and historical study, treated chronologically group by group.

Part II. A study of the larger vision and the movement of the faith from the congregation to the larger world.

Part III. A review of denominational relationships and summary.

Lind not only deals with the Mennonite Church (MC) but with the many related groups as well. Although she does not go into the historical background of all the groups, she refers to them as they intersect with the story. Chapter six treats the General Conference Mennonites, Mennonite Brethren, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren, Old Order Amish, Church of God in Christ Mennonites, and Brethren in Christ, all of whom came to Oregon. Chapter seven provides a list and summary of "related Mennonite groups in neighboring states" so that the book is also a guide for a study of the Mennonites of the far West.

Truly, the title, *Apart and Together*, describes the story. One almost becomes weary of reading about the many fragmentations which resulted from differences of understanding and practice. But having been an ordained pastor in the Indiana-Michigan Conference since 1945, I could identify. Our churches also struggled with wedding rings and veils, the prayer veiling, hair styles, labor unions, musical instruments, modest attire, nonresistance, and biblical interpretation.

Searching my own heart, I cannot be too hard on the Oregon Mennonites. Undoubtedly some were contrary and devious, but most of them were sincere. Mennonites have always believed that personal faith in Christ must result in Christian behavior and life style.

The Mennonites who moved west were adventurous individualists with strong convictions. Many brought these convictions along and discovered they were not too different from the Mennonites they thought they had left behind back east.

The Oregon story, however, has a silver lining. Lind points out that "All Oregon Mennonites agreed that personal faithfulness to Christ was essential" (p. 337). She mentions a common focus on the Bible, a commitment to witness and mission and a commitment to service, as areas in which they agreed. These basics kept them relating to each other and drawing them together.

Hope Lind is a historian who not only records the historical facts, but she also does a good job of interpreting them. Only those who have tried to write such a book can appreciate the amount of hard and careful work she did. I also was interested in her sources and often find myself spending as much time reading the footnotes as I do the text. This book is extremely well documented. Finally, there is the index, and Lind's book has a comprehensive one.


I did have a problem with the organization of the first part of the book. I wish the history of each congregation could have been written separately, rather than treated in a scattered way. Of course, one can



Hope Kauffman Lind: "not only records the historical facts, but she also does a good job of interpreting them."

build one's own congregational story by using the index and gathering all of the information together. But it would have been easier to have it all together, such as an encyclopedia would have it. Perhaps I am used to J. C. Wenger's book, *The Mennonites in Indiana and Michigan*, where the material is organized in this way.

Lind mentions in her preface that this was the original intent but that lack of space changed the plan. Lind's book has the advantage of noting congregational interaction and telling the whole story together chronologically and geographically. She notes that there is still much unpublished congregational materials in the archives. Perhaps these congregational stories can be published in a future book.

Apart and Together is well written and well bound. It is interesting and contains photos, and I thoroughly enjoyed it. As a small boy in Iowa, I heard my elders talk about people who moved to Oregon. As I read I recognized their names and many others I knew or have known. All this points to the fact that there is a vital connection between the East and the West. 

Russell Krabill of Elkhart, Indiana, is historian of the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference.

Book Reviews

Frontiers of Faithfulness: The Story of the Groffdale Mennonite Church. A. Grace Wenger. Leola, Pa: Groffdale Mennonite Church, 1992. Pp. 300. \$23.

"The Days of Our Years" A History of the Eigenheim Mennonite Church Community: 1892-1992. Walter Klaassen. Rosthern, Sask.: Eigenheim Mennonite Church, 1992. Pp. 312. \$50.

The content and geographical location of these two congregational histories are quite different. One is a pre-Revolutionary War Pennsylvania congregation, one is a turn of the century Saskatchewan immigrant church.

At the same time, they share similarities in telling the stories in chronological order, having their stories intermingled with other Mennonite churches, and using much data from personal diaries and interviews. These histories tell of individual lives and corporate experiences and their interaction.

Conflicts and agreements were dealt with, and strong leaders appeared at appropriate and providential times for difficult decisions. Each history tells of a congregation's attempts to be faithful to the Lord. As society, technology, and attitudes change the church requires eternal vigilance to ascertain what is faithfulness and what is detrimental compromise.

Wenger's Groffdale account gives much personal material outlining how various individuals were related to each other and how they ranked in terms of siblings and other relatives. People are introduced as "first son of," "fourth daughter of," "grandfather of" or "uncle of." To local residents this would be very enjoyable; to the outsider it expresses the importance of family relationships. One is impressed with the author's ability to do this so extensively over a period of 200 years.

In the faithful walk of the Groffdale congregation, it was evident that some strong, godly and wise leaders were present when needed. Their conduct during decision-making times should be instructive to others.

Groffdale related to many other congregations, and the story may be


considered a microcosm of the history of Lancaster County Mennonites. In retrospect, many of the disagreements may appear trivial, but above all there remained a strong sense of mission for the kingdom of God. Many from the congregation became missionaries, teachers, and spiritual leaders. This story is evidence of God's declaration that his kingdom will be present when our Lord returns the second time.

Klaassen's Eigenheim account revolves around the Mennonite immigrants from various parts of Europe who arrived in Canada the latter part of the nineteenth century. But on another level, Klaassen's story is older than Wenger's. He begins with an account of prehistoric times and events in terms of billions of years.

The Mennonites pioneers worked exceedingly hard and one senses that hope and anticipation of freedom, especially from military service, gave them the strength and motivation to carry on. Negotiating with the Canadian government and the Indians, whom they were generally supplanting, made it necessary to constantly make decisions as to what was godly and fair. They generously and graciously accepted the burden of waves of Mennonite emigrants from Russia in the early 1920s and weathered the great depression in the 1930s.

World War II caused a great deal of stress for conscientious objectors to war as they dealt with the government and the unsympathetic populace. Ultimately a fairly satisfactory solution was worked out where alternative service was available. The restoration into congregational fellowship of those who had served in the armed forces was a point of great concern.

The ministry often dealt with the personal problems of their membership. This, at times, was very difficult, but the goal of reconciliation, peace and harmony was always attempted.

Both Wenger and Klaassen have long and well-established professional credentials outside of Groffdale and Eigenheim, but we can be thankful that they did these local histories as a labor of love. They are immensely enjoyable and a witness. The on-going faithfulness of generation after generation validates our beliefs and verifies our Lord's promise to be with us to the end. 

Floyd L. Rheinheimer
Milford, Indiana

Recent Publications

Anderson, Dave and Elta. **Descendents of David B. Miller and Susanna H. Yoder.** 1992. Pp. 202. From compilers, 1510 Greencroft Dr., Goshen, IN 46526.

Elias, Joyce Stevenson. **Descendents of Jacob Dyck and Elizabeth Jaeger, Kronsthal, Choritiza, Russia.** 1992. Pp. 303. \$40.00. Jacob Dyck Family Book Committee, Box 1053, Winkler, MB R6W 4B1

Good, Merle. **Today Pop Goes Home.** Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1993. Pp. 92. \$6.95.

Hassan, Hazel W. **Nice Family History: the ancestors and descendents of Joseph Nice and his wife Mary Clemmer.** 1993. Pp. 400. \$22.00. author, 19549 CR 38, Goshen, IN 46526.

Janzen, John. **The Heinrich F. Janzen Family Record 1849-1992.** 1992. John J. Janzen, Box 207, Hague, SK S0K 1X0.

Pries, Betty. **Seawindrock, The history of MCC in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1954-1993.** Winnipeg: Mennonite Central Committee Canada, 1993. Pp. 105.


Riedemann, Peter. **Love is like Fire, The Confession of an Anabaptist Prisoner.** Farmington, Pa.: The Plough Publishing House, 1993. Pp. 74. \$6.00. Translation taken from Robert Friedmann's *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter II*.

Ruth, Phil Johnson. **In Their Generations: a History of the Rosenberger Family... Souderton: Ploughman.** 1992. Pp. 133.

Stoltzfus Nafziger Family History. 1992. Pp. 98. \$10.50. John Lapp, 147 Amishtown Rd., New Holland, PA 17557.


Stoner, Norris Eugene. **Our Stoner Family, 1732-1991.** 1991. \$40.00. From author, 1010 American Eagle Blvd. 302, Sun City Center, FL 33573.

Studer, Gerald C. **Christopher Dock, Colonial Schoolmaster.** Scottdale: Herald Press, 1993. Pp. 448. \$17.95. Reprint of the 1967 classic biography.

Further information on the above books may be obtained from Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526. 



Mennonite Home Mission in Chicago, 1893

In November, 1893, 27-year-old Mennonite minister Menno Simon Steiner moved to Chicago, Illinois, rented a hall, held a consecration service, and began what would become the first sustained (Old) Mennonite city mission venture. With no organization and little money, Steiner secured the assistance of several young doctors who opened a free medical dispensary in January of 1894. By March of 1894 the first workers arrived, including Melinda Ebersole of Sterling, Illinois, the first permanent worker who served for 20 years. Other workers in 1894 besides Melinda Ebersole (seated on left) were: Aaron Loucks, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; Alice Thut, Columbus Grove, Ohio; Samuel (S.F.) Coffman, Elkhart, Indiana; Mary Denlinger, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; DeWitt Good, Harrisonburg, Virginia; Barbara Shantz, Waterloo, Ontario. Drawing on archival and personal sources, Simon Gingerich, former staffer of Mennonite Board of Missions of Elkhart, Indiana, has assembled an essay and slide show of the Mennonite Home Mission history. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church. John F. Funk Collection 

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